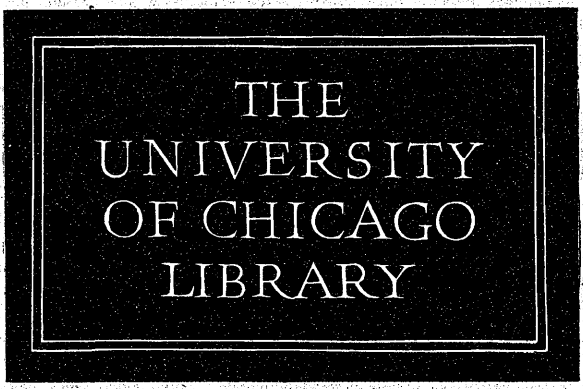

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FAMOUS PARSIS

BIOGRAPHICAL & CRITICAL SKETCHES

OF

Patriots, Philanthropists, Politicians, Reformers, Scholars and Captains of Industry.

FIRST EDITION

G. A. NATESAN & CO., MADRAS.

Price Rs. Three.

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

This book completes the trilogy which includes sketches of *Eminent Mussalmans* and *Indian Christians*. It follows the plan of the two other publications of the firm in that it is at once biographical and critical. Every attempt is made to present as comprehensive a list as possible; but in a work of this kind it is difficult to be exhaustive. There must, doubtless, be names which, in the opinion of some readers, should with propriety be included in this gallery of Famous Parsis.

The Parsis, in their relation to India, are in one respect different from the Mussalmans and Christians. While the two latter are mostly converts to their respective faiths from the religion of the country, the Parsis are aliens in faith who migrated to India in search of a peaceful asylum to pursue their own "way of life and happiness." But in migrating

SAHEW64

to these hospitable shores they have not only adopted many features of our civilization but have so identified themselves with the fortunes of the land of their adoption that they have proved themselves no less patriotic than their neighbours. Thus the Parsis, having made India their home, are "Indians first and Parsis afterwards."

The story is told that the Parsi Dastur that headed the first band of Parsis that landed in this country after the Arab conquest of Persia said to the ruling Prince of Sanjan:

> We will be friends to the whole of India.

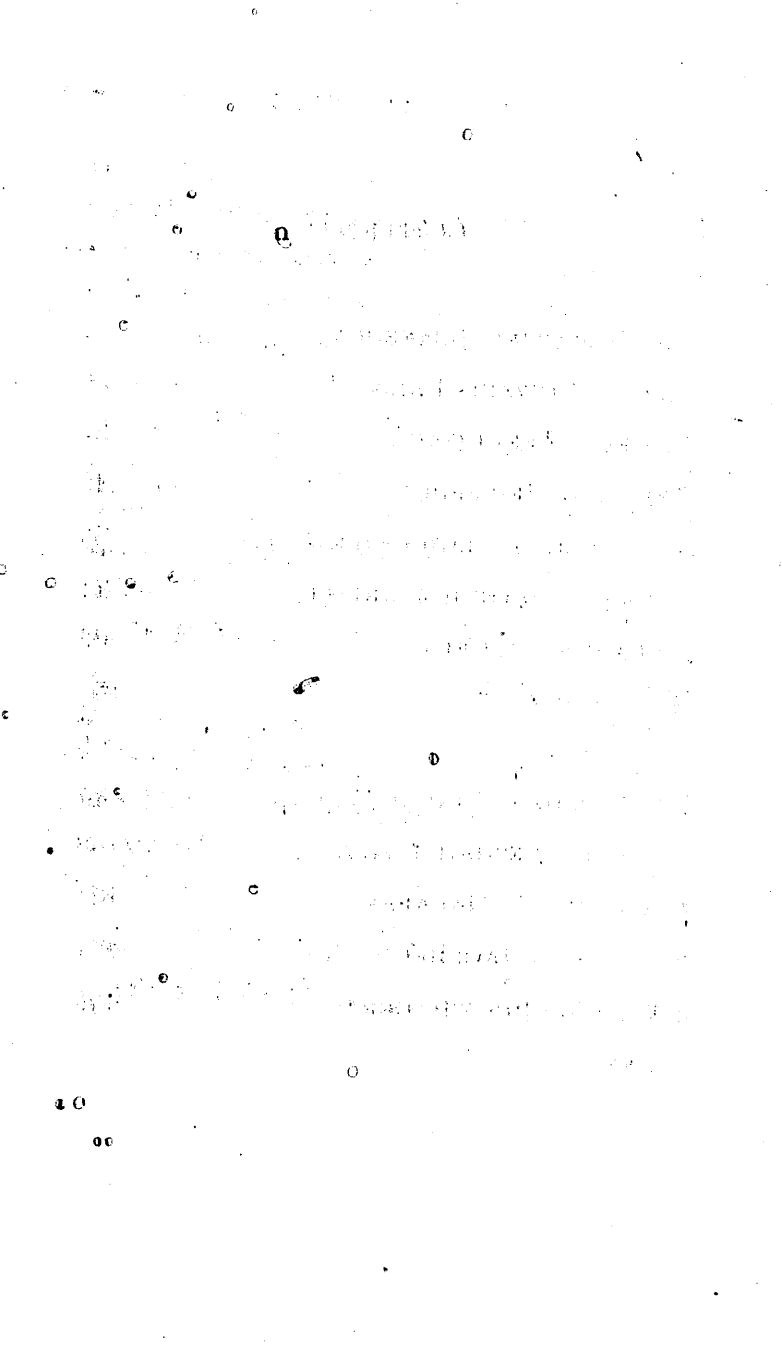
The Parsi community, as Mr. Kincaid has rightly pointed out, has done its best to be true to this promise. It has played an active part in the material, social, intellectual and political advancement of the country. Those great leaders of the past—Dadabhai, Mehta, Tata, Malabari—represent the best that is in the genius of a race that has distinguished itself in every sphere of public activity in this country.

And so among them we find men distinguished alike as patriots, philanthropists,

politicians, reformers, scholars and captains of Industry. Indeed with their genius for adapting themselves to their environments, the Parsis have risen to the top in every sphere of public and private life. There are no more illustrious names in the roll of Indian patriots than those of Dadabhai, Mehta and Wacha; no more distinguished Captains of Industry than the Tatas and Petits; no more philanthropists than the Jejeebhoys and Wadias; no more ardent reformers than Malabari and Bengalli; nor more venerated scholars than K. R. Cama and Jivanji Modi.

It is hoped that this attempt to record the achievements of the Famous Parsis in India will be widely welcomed as a fitting tribute to a community entitled alike by its intelligence and public spirit to take its proper place in the shaping of India's destiny.

Sept. 1930. G. A. NATESAN & CO.

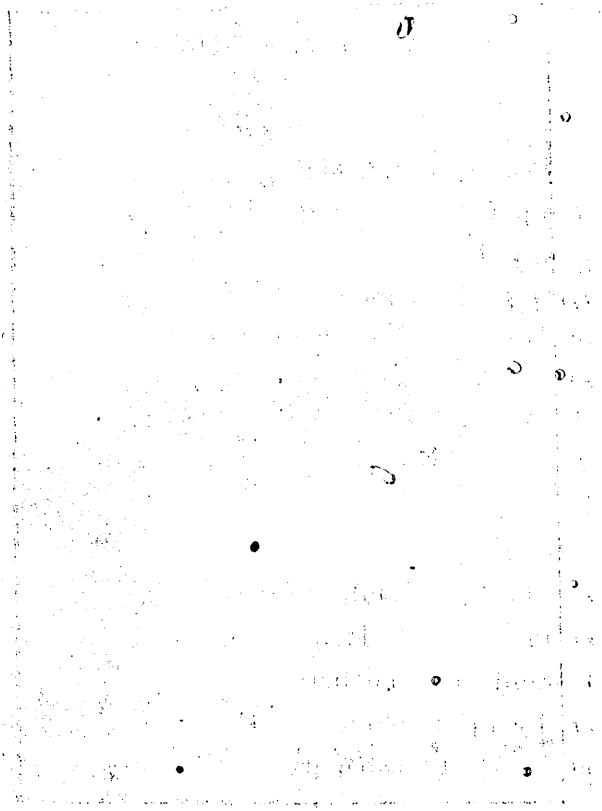


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SIR JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY

SIR JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY

AMONG the early settlers in Bombay were a handful of Parsis who distinguished themselves in commercial enterprise soon after the island was ceded to the British Crown. "Many of the principal merchants and owners of ships at Bombay and Surat", says Forbes in his *Oriental Memoirs*, "are Parsees—the best carpenters and shipwrights are of this tribe". It was, however, merely the dawn of a glorious era in the history of the community. The man, who was destined to shed the greatest lustre on the Parsi Community and to spread its name and fame throughout the world, had not yet been born.

During the latter half of the eighteenth century, a poor Parsi couple of the "Wachaji" family came to Bombay from Navsari. A son was born to this couple in 1783 whom they named "Jamshed" after the famous Persian Monarch. Who could have then

dreamt that this lad of humble origin would, within a few years, stand pre-eminent among his countrymen as a merchant-prince and the first citizen of the "First City in India"?

Contact with the Hindus in India has led to strange transformations in Parsi names. Little Jamshed soon came to be known as Jamsetjee. Of his childhood, very little is known. We may, however, surmise, that, as an infant, he must have played with other urchins in the long-forgotten street outside the Fort where the family lived. This street was called *Yatha Ahu Vairyo Moholla* after the name of the very old daily prayer of the Parsis. When he was five years old, the family returned to Navsari. Thence, Jamsetjee came back to Bombay when he was twelve years old. His uncle, Framji Nasarwanji Batliwalla, was then running a shop for buying and selling empty bottles in the Fort, near the Commissariat godown recently razed to the ground in connection with the Hornby-Ballard Scheme. Him the young nephew joined as his apprentice, to him he was indebted for the little knowledge he

acquired in the rudiments of the vernacular language and accounts, and to him also he owed his success in business. Framji could not have selected a more desirable youth for the hand of his daughter than Jamsetjee who was soon betrothed to his daughter, Avanbai. Thus connected with Framji Batliwalla, Jamsetjee also came to be known as Batliwalla or dealer in bottles, a name which he was destined to elevate in the eyes of the Bombay public as a synonym for princely fortune and munificence.

In the year 1799, Jamsetjee got an opportunity to go to Calcutta as an Assistant to his cousin, Merwanji Manockji Tabak, a flourishing merchant of the day. Towards the end of the year, he returned to Bombay, a wiser though not a richer man. It would seem Dame Fortune was reserving her smiles till the youth was thoroughly drilled in the school of poverty so as to better appreciate and distribute her bounties.

Within a short time, Jamsetjee embarked on his first voyage to China as Merwanji Tabak's *Meheta* (clerk and accountant). It is said

that one day when he was weighing out opium to the firm's customers and closing bargains with them, a leading Chinese merchant, who was watching him closely, predicted that the Parsi lad would become a commercial magnate, and that probably his own master would then serve under him—a prophecy which turned out to be true! Later in life, Merwanji Tabak lost heavily in business, and Jamsetjee, who was then carrying on extensive trade with China, deputed him again to the country of the Celestials as his agent.

Jamsetjee's first voyage was not, however, a prosperous one. He had taken with him Rs. 120 and returned with the magnificent sum of Rs. 150! But he had established his credit as a level-headed and honest man so that he was soon able to raise a capital of Rs. 40,000 and embarked on his second voyage to China as a partner in the firm of his uncle Framji Batliwalla. This venture appears to have been a success as also his subsequent voyage which was memorable for an exciting incident. During his homeward journey, Jamsetjee was a passenger in a vessel

which formed one of the fleet of the East India Company which, in the historic action under Sir Nathaniel Dance beat off the French Squadron commanded by Admiral Linois.

The third voyage was uneventful, but the fourth was fraught with disaster. On the return voyage in July 1806, there was another engagement with the French force that had been previously repulsed. The vessel in which Jamsetjee was a passenger with his purchases for India, the *Brunswick*, was intercepted and overpowered by two French Men-of-War. Jamsetjee lost all his property and had to remain for a time a prisoner in the hands of the French. Along with the other prisoners, he was taken to the Cape of Good Hope, which was then a neutral port belonging to the Dutch. He had been deprived by the captors of everything except his clothes.

The British Consul, however, assisted him and procured for him a passage to Calcutta in a Danish ship sailing for Serampore. What must have been his joy when he boarded the ship with half a bag of worm-eaten rice, some salt-fish and twenty dollars in money—all gifts

from the British Consul. But more hardships were in store for him. In a letter written to a friend in Bombay, he wrote, "On board the vessel we used to get one biscuit a head in the morning, and at four or five o'clock, some *Khichri* (boiled rice). In this manner, we struggled on, bordering on starvation. The Danish Captain, for sixteen hundred sika rupees, gave us such miserable berths that they were worse than those on a country craft which we get for Rs. 50..... He gave one pot of water between nine men, both for cooking and drinking. For about 15 days after we left Ceylon.....the cold was severe, severer than what I experienced in China. My sufferings and privations were such as I had never before experienced."

It took some months before Jamsetjee arrived in Bombay *via* Calcutta much to the surprise and joy of relatives who had given him up for lost. But once more, he embarked on a voyage to China, notwithstanding the perils of the sea heightened by the war with the French. Although this was a very prosperous voyage, it was the last.

From the year 1807, he settled down in Bombay where his growing opulence and active benevolence soon made his name a household word. Henceforth he directed from Bombay all the operations concerning his extensive trade with Madras, Calcutta, Colombo, Penang, Singapore, Siam, Sumatra, China and England. Cotton and opium formed the principal items of business. In 1814, a new line was added to the business—shipping. The first vessel owned by Jamsetjee's firm was named "Good Success", and she was indeed such a success that the firm soon became the owner of a formidable fleet. In 1818, Framji Batliwalla, with whom his partnership had commenced since 1801, died, and Jamsetjee took as his partners Motichand Amichand and Mahomed Hussain Rogay. This cosmopolitan combination turned out to be a remarkable success.

In 1821, the three commercial magnates considered themselves so powerful that they bought up the whole of the imports of a season from China. The profits of this enterprise, however, did not come up to their expecta-

tions. Nor did successive ventures prove as prosperous as before. It was suspected that this set-back was due to Motichand carrying on separate transactions on his private account in contravention of the deed of partnership. A separation was the inevitable result, but not a breach of friendship as evidenced by the following substantial sums subscribed by Jamsetjee to Hindu charities in memory of Motichand :—

Subscription to the Pinjra-pol in Bombay··· Rs. 71,600

" " " at Patton··· Rs. 3,000

Endowment for the relief of poor Hindus in Gujerat ··· Rs. 30,000

In 1836, Jamsetjee took as his partners his eldest son Cursetjee and his assistant Furdoonjee Sorabjee. His personal supervision of the business still continued. So good was the organization, so orderly the system of work, so close his personal supervision, so contented and loyal was the staff in Bombay and abroad, and so high the credit of the firm that even during crises such as the Chinese War, the firm made good profits on the whole.

Prosperity and power not infrequently develop the weak traits in a man's character. In Jamesetjee's case, it was otherwise. The stronger he grew, the gentler he became. Instead of demoralizing him in any way, money in his hands became a most potent instrument for combating ignorance and poverty and promoting the welfare of his humble fellow-subjects. By nature gentle, he sympathised with the poor in their sufferings especially because he had himself experienced the hardships of penury. The more he earned, the more he gave in charity, and it reflects no little credit on his sagacity and judgment that he made the stream of benevolence flow in channels then unknown.

In those days, medical science had not made even a feeble beginning in the City. Surgery was repugnant to the sentiments of the Indians, and the pursuit of anatomical knowledge was no more encouraged. Before the year 1834, there was not a single institution in Bombay for ministering medical relief to the poor. In that year, however, a small charitable dispensary was opened, thanks to the exertions of Dr. Mackie, the first private practitioner

who had established himself in the City in the year 1830. Inadequate as was the relief given to out-patients by this institution with its limited funds contributed by philanthropic citizens, among whom Jamsetjee was the most conspicuous, it emphasised more than anything else the need for a hospital for bed-ridden patients who were unable to go to the dispensary for treatment. At one of the meetings of the Managing Committee of the Dispensary, there was considerable discussion on the question of providing a public hospital for the poor. There and then, Jamsetjee announced that he was prepared to give a donation of one lakh of rupees if Government would contribute another lakh. There was no suggestion on his part that the hospital should be named after him. This magnificent offer was communicated to Government who strongly recommended the Board of Directors to accept it, and the following extract from their reply shows how opportune and welcome Jamsetjee's offer was :—

"You will commmunicate to Jamsetjee Jejeebhoi our high appreciation for his conduct

and our desire to co-operate with him to the utmost in carrying his benevolent designs into effect. We shall of course sanction any designation you may think it desirable to give to the fund for the purpose of showing due honour to this very meritorious individual."

This was the origin of the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Hospital. The original estimates of the cost of the building were largely exceeded, but Jamsetjee cheerfully increased his contributions so that his donation ultimately reached the figure of two lakhs. With the inauguration of this hospital and the Government Medical College established in connection with it, commenced a new era of medical relief and medical education in the City. Such an institution alone would link Jamsetjee's name with the City for ever, but it was only one of several works of public utility and beneficence for which the City is indebted to him.

It would be impossible to recount in this sketch several other inspiring illustrations of Jamsetjee's boundless benevolence. Only a few typical benefactions which stand in Western India to-day as monuments of his

catholic sympathy and philanthropy may be noted.

Benevolent Institution for the education of the children of the poor Parsis and for the maintenance of persons in distress ...	4,50,000
Dhurmsala or Asylum for the indigent at Bellasis Road ...	1,50,000
Water Works at Poona ...	1,80,000
The Sir J. J. Arts School in Bombay ...	1,00,000
Parsi Fire Temple in Poona ...	45,000
The Allahi Baug or Public Hall for Parsi festivals and ceremonies	70,000
Endowment for poor Parsis at Surat	1,25,000
,, at Navsari...	62,000
Fund for the relief of sufferers in fire at Surat and Syed Poora ...	30,000
Public Tank near the J. J. Hospital ...	23,000

One more prominent public benefaction remains to be noted—the Mohim Causeway at Bombay—which is a standing monument of the liberality of Jamsetjee and his sympathetic and sagacious consort. In those days, there was no causeway connecting Bombay with Salsette. Several persons were drowned almost every year in the roaring current of the creek that had to be passed through

in crossing from one island to the other. Government were repeatedly asked to erect a causeway between Mohim and Bandora. Estimates were prepared but the proposal was deferred from year to year owing to financial stringency. Meanwhile, the furies of the water continued to levy their toll of human life. In the year 1841, fifteen to twenty boats were capsized in the creek, occasioning great loss of life. Lady Jamsetjee was moved to tears by the reports of this tragedy, and asked, "Why do not Government build a a bridge across the waters to prevent such disasters?" When she was told that Government had no funds to spare for this purpose, she promptly expressed her willingness to defray the expenses of a bridge out of her private fortune. The original estimate of Rs. 67,000 was greatly exceeded, but Lady Jamsetjee, encouraged by her magnanimous husband, cheerfully agreed to meet the excess so that ultimately her contribution towards this work amounted to Rs. 1,57,000.

Thus the flow of bounty from the coffers of Jamsetjee continued uninterrupted till the last

day of his life. The fame of his munificence reached the ears of Queen Victoria in the year 1842 when she was pleased to confer on him the honour of Knighthood. This was a signal for rejoicing throughout the Bombay Presidency. Numerous meetings were held and numerous addresses of congratulations were presented to the first Indian on whom the rank and privileges of a Knight of the British realm were conferred. "We hail it" said the Parsi and Hindu inhabitants of Bombay, "as the harbinger of a brighter day for India, when Britain shall no longer view her dominion here as a means of aggrandisement for her own sons, but as a sacred trust, of which the paramount object is the welfare of the children of the soil and the improvement and elevation of their moral and social condition". Be it noted, these sentiments were expressed nearly a century ago when there was no army of disgruntled graduates, and when, without any instigation of the political agitator, the loyal and devoted subjects of the Crown could not help thinking that much remained to be done to divorce the

rule of the British from the spirit of commerce that served to dominate it.

To commemorate the auspicious event, a fund was raised by public subscriptions, and Sir Jamsetjee's permission was asked to this fund, which was designated the " Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Translation Fund", being utilized for encouraging translation into the Gujerati language of approved books from the European and Asiatic languages whether ancient or modern. In replying to this request, Sir Jamsetjee said that nothing could have pleased him more than the purpose to which it was proposed to devote the amount. " I shall", said he, " ever wish my name to be connected with every endeavour to diffuse knowledge amongst our people ; and the surest way to incite them to elevate and improve themselves……is to spread far and wide amongst them, *gratuitously*, or in a cheap form, translations into our own language of the most approved authors ".

He had long under consideration a scheme for relieving the distress of the Parsi poor of Bombay and Gujerat, and for educating their

children. On this occasion, therefore, he offered Rs. 3,00,000 for the purpose, and asked the citizens, who had met, to give him the address to accept the amount. This was the origin of the Parsee Benevolent Institution. Being a pioneer of social reform, Jamsetjee sympathised with the movement for the education of girls and the emancipation of womanhood from the tyranny of the social customs of the times and established several girls' schools in connection with the Institute.

The presentation to Sir Jamsetjee of the Freedom of the City of London was another signal honour conferred for the first time on an Indian. At a common Council held at the Mansion House on the 14th April 1855, it was unanimously resolved that the Freedom of the City be presented to him as a testimonial of the high estimation entertained of him by the Corporation of the City of London and from respect for his justly renowned character as a princely benefactor of his country and mankind—a noble example of blameless private life and public worth as a citizen of Bombay, and of spotless commercial integrity as a most

eminent British subject and merchant of India.

The crowning honour of his life was yet to follow. A very large and influential meeting of the inhabitants of Bombay was held in the Town Hall on 24th June, 1856, in pursuance of a requisition addressed to the Sheriff of Bombay, for testifying on the occasion of his retirement into private life, the esteem in which Sir Jamsetjee was held by all classes of the country. Lord Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, presided, and said that in honouring Sir Jamsetjee, the country merely honoured itself. He pointed out that his public benefactions alone amounted to Rs. 25,00,000. "In what age," he asked, "and in what country can we find another example of such princely munificence?" It was not, however, the amount only of Sir Jamsetjee's charities that commanded admiration. True liberality is shown in the manner of distribution no less than in the amount. "I will not go back to the dark ages," said Lord Elphinstone, "and cite the times when Christian monasteries and Buddhist *Wickaras*

were endowed by men who sought to gain the favour of Heaven by renouncing their possessions and performing what they considered an act of charity, and which was certainly one of abnegation. I may, however, refer to those who presided over our great collegiate institutions, and to the monarchs who built the *Hotel des Invalides* at Paris, and Greenwich and Chelsea Hospitals near London. The former afforded education only to those who participated in the founder's Faith. The latter were for the worn-out soldiers and sailors of the kings who established them. Far be it from me to undervalue these noble foundations, but I cannot help remarking that Sir Jamsetjee's benefactions, with the sole exception, I believe, of the Parsee Benevolent Institution, are made to the entire community, not for Parsees only, but for Hindus, Jews, Christians and Mohomedans. It is the catholic character of Sir Jamsetjee's benevolence, his sympathy for the poor and suffering of all castes and creeds that has won for him the universal respect and esteem of all classes of the community". It was then

resolved that Sir Jamsetjee's name and memory should be perpetuated by the erection of a statue on which multitudes yet unborn might gaze with feelings of reverence and emulation. The statue accordingly erected now adorns the Town Hall of Bombay.

The Honour of Baronetcy soon followed, and in the evening of his life, Sir Jamsetjee had the satisfaction that he had not only been fortunate enough to do good deeds but also that such deeds were universally appreciated. He passed away on the 15th April 1859, "the most eminent British subject of India", the best beloved citizen of the world.

FRAMJI COWASJI BANAJI

FRAMJI Cowasji Banaji may, in a sense, be said to be the founder of the public life of Bombay, which to-day counts for so much in the political, economic and social activity of the country. He lived over 150 years ago. The material construction raised in his name, the Framji Cowasji Institute of Bombay, as a permanent testimony of the love and honour which the public of Bombay bore towards him, is now razed to the ground by the ravages of time ; yet the greatest achievements and deeds of public utility that he performed have lived down to the present day ; for in the words of Charlotte Bronte, it may be said that though columns and pillars erected to glorify the great and heroic actions of the great and the heroic may perish, as they do in the progress of time, yet the glory of the action lives after them. Staunchly Zoroastrian in feeling, F. C. Banaji believed in the true spirit and effectiveness of action, for,

"verily," says the Geeta, "action is better than inaction." In him we re-gathered together the highest and noblest virtues that go to constitute a man in the first place, an Indian in the second, and last but not least, a Zoroastrian in the lofty sense of the term.

FOUNDER OF THE FAMILY

The founder of the Banaji family hailed from Bhagwadandi near Surat from whence he came to Bombay in 1690 in the service of the East India Company. Inspired by commercial enterprize, he carried on extensive business on his own initiative in opium, silk, timber, with China and Burmah, and thus laid the foundation of the wealth and glory of the family on which his illustrious successor was to raise a great fabric of commercial glory and national pride.

THE BANAJIS AND SHIPPING BUSINESS

That the Pārsis were great navigators and sailors even in the days of the Achœmenians and much before that, is approved by the victories they achieved under Darius Hystaspes over the Greeks when the former carried an invasion upon the latter. After their advent

into India, they seem to have continued their efforts in this direction of ship-building and were of great use to the East India Company in its early days of settlements in Surat and in Bombay. Framji and his relations were engaged in exploiting this industry, but they went further and owned ships which transacted business on a large scale between India and the neighbouring countries like China and Burmah. Framji's one ship called the "Suleimani" got him much riches and established the commercial reputation of the Parsis in Bengal. His brother Rustomji, afterwards known by his more familiar name of "Rustomji Babu," was the founder of several factories in Calcutta, and owned forty ships at a time, some of which were afterwards bought up by the Company for its wars against its enemies on the sea. Rustomji was once looked upon as the greatest merchant-prince in the East. He invested largely in new enterprizes and founded several business concerns and was very charitable at heart. He had bought up the Kidderpore Docks as well as the Shalekia Docks for about six lacs of

rupees. Among the best known Parsi families that built ships, that of the Banajis has been recorded in history as owning forty ships and more at a time. The Banajis were later on engrossed in ship-building business, and entered upon an unprecedented career of wealth and of fame. The spirit became inherent and it was thus that Babu Rustomji, as he was fondly termed by many of the Calcutta merchants with whom he had large business contracts, who was the contemporary and a great friend of Dwarkanath Tagore, actually built a dock and sailed 40 ships at a time under his ownership. Framji too was one of the greatest ship-owners of the time. It is sad to see such masterful enterprizes gradually languishing in the community. Many of the ships owned and some even built by Parsis were used by the English in their wars with the French and the Chinese in distant waters both of the East as well of the West.

EARLY EDUCATION OF FRAMJI

Framji had received but little literary education; but got himself employed quickly as

a "dubash" under one of his own relatives, the Dadisheths. But in 1807, *i.e.*, at the age of 40, he founded an independent business of his own by buying up the "Suleimani," a merchant ship that experienced many vicissitudes of life during its long career in the Franco-British War.

LORD LEICESTER OF WESTERN INDIA

Bombay was not what it is to-day, and the Powai Estate, which stood in the vicinity of the town, extended for miles together where this "Lord Leicester of Western India," as he was aptly called by Sir John Malcolm, a former Governor of the Presidency, laid out vast plots of cultivated area. Sir John Malcolm in one of his records states:—

"I lately paid a visit to the estate of Framji Cowasji at Powai and never was more gratified. This highly respectable native has laid out much money in a variety of useful improvements. He has sunk a number of wells, has built houses, and made an excellent road, planted a great quantity of sugar-cane, indigo, and mulberries for silk-worms, he has erected an excellent sugar mill, which I saw at work and all the necessary buildings on an indigo manufactory. But, what I was most delighted with was the passionate fondness Framji appeared to have for his estate.



FRAMJI COWASJI BANAJI

(See page 20)

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LORD LEICESTER OF WESTERN INDIA

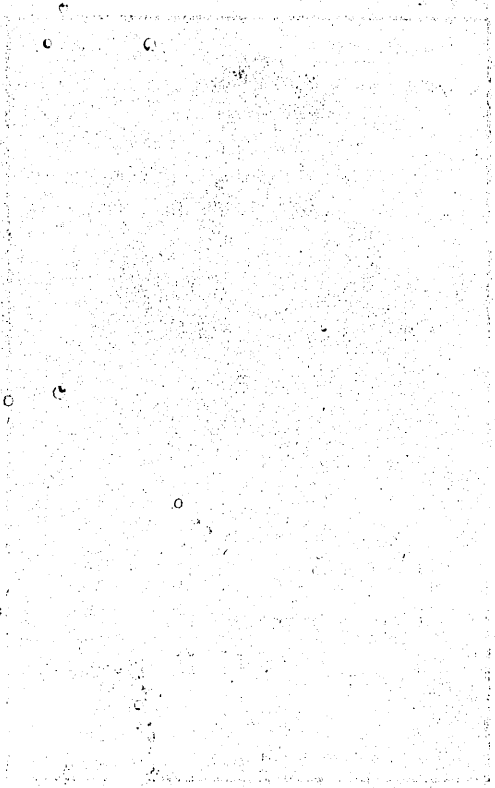
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FRAMJI COWASJI BANAJI

(See page 20)



His projected improvements of a tank, a garden full of fruit trees of every country, the erection of a bungalow for English travellers and a *Sarai* and the stables at the spot where the road to his estate leaves the Thana great road, will be more useful to the public, as it is exactly half way between Bombay and Thana and mark the liberal spirit in which he has determined to fulfil the obligation of his lease."

There were eight villages under Framji's control, a number of wells were sunk by him; and the most note-worthy point about the estate was that there were a lakh of mango trees in his garden. To-day, too, the mangoes of Powai sell dear in the markets of Bombay because they are so good. Framji was the first native of India to send mango fruits to England as a present to Queen Victoria. A copy of his letter to H. M. the Queen is given below:—

"May it please Your Majesty,

The improvement and extension of Steam Navigation have now happily brought your Majesty's dominions in the Eastern world so closely together, that I venture most humbly and most respectfully to lay at your Majesty's feet some specimens of the celebrated Bombay mangoes, in earnest hope that this delicious fruit, which has never before been transmitted to Europe, may reach your Majesty in a state of preservation and prove

acceptable. Such precautions have been adopted to preserve the fruit as appear most efficacious, but if the botanists of your Majesty's dominions at home can prescribe a preferable method, it shall be adopted in the transmission of further supplies of this or any other kind of fruit peculiar to the country, which has not hitherto been seen in Great Britain.

Your Majesty's Most Obedient
and Faithful Eastern Subject,
FRAMJI COWASJI.

BOMBAY, *18th May, 1838.*"

The Powai Estate in its palmy days was the glory of Western India. In addition to this, Framji was connected with numerous other enterprizes, viz. railways, insurance companies and so forth.

COMMUNAL SERVICE

But Framji stands forth pre-eminent as a great servant of the community in which he had his birth and of his country which is so proud to have him as its child. "Parsi! Thy name is Charity!" Accordingly, Framji gave a great deal of his well-earned money in support of such of his community's institutions as promoted the best of its interests. His communal and other philanthropies pertain to the building of places of worship, the

sinking of wells, the relief of the famine-stricken, the cause of education—both male and female—and so forth. Some of the oldest charities in Bombay and its neighbourhood bear on their records the illustrious name of this great Parsi.

He was a reformer of a moderate type, and had, being of a violent nature, frequent wordy strifes with colleagues on the Panchayat Board in the best interests of his community.

FRAMJI'S PUBLIC SERVICE

He was the first Justice of the Peace in Bombay, one of the first citizens to introduce gas light in Bombay, the first to introduce engineering contrivances in the matter of carrying water from one place to another by means of pipes, and above all, the first Indian in whose honour a public meeting was held where Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis and Christians assembled together to raise a memorial to his great and valuable services. Besides helping forward the cause of the country in these ways, Framji encouraged its industries and its arts in a more practical and substantial form, for he was one of those believers in

national upliftment that would see in the advance of national industry a means to the end. He early associated himself with public companies of an industrial character and where other natives of India were afraid to step in, he rushed forward and cleared their way, undertaking risks and ventures. He was the first and only native of India who purchased the shares of the G.I.P. Railway Company when the scheme was first launched into existence. The Company had to pass through trying conditions when it had to bore tunnels in the heart of the mountains, and many shareholders began shirking, but Framji would not be deterred by anything which established his reputation among the Europeans. Again, owing to the invention of steam-power, cotton-weaving and spinning industries were just being set afoot; and so were Insurance companies commenced, and of all the natives, Framji was the first to help them in a very tangible form by investing what little he had in these newly-risen companies, which accounts for the great sacrifice he made. He was one of the active workers on the Board

of the Bank of Bombay, and of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce ushered into existence in the year 1836.

Prior to his days, the people of Bombay knew little of the benefits of insurance, and when a modest company was started, it had to pass through a crisis; but Framji came to its rescue and set an example to his fellow-countrymen and co-religionists by buying up a large number of shares in it.

This is but a brief account of what great industrial enterprizes Framji in his days aided in a variety of ways. He earned much, but gave away more to works of public utility, so that at the time of his death which took place at the patriarchal age of 85, he was rather poor. Being a lover of education and science, he took a great interest in the furtherance of the cause of education among the masses, and when he died, the Education Board, under the presidency of that eminent educationist and Judge, Sir Erskine Perry, had a very touching resolution put before the committee and passed which, considering the scant support and co-operation sought by the

government in those days from Indians, and the equally meagre way in which it was supported, redounds to the credit of this eminent Parsi. That resolution ran as follows:

"'Framji Cowasji, Esq., resigned his seat in consequence of his advanced time of life. The eminent and good citizenship, and zeal in supporting every measure for public improvement, which distinguished our late much esteemed colleague, are too well-known to your Lordship (Governor of Bombay) in Council to need any notice from us, but in recording his death, which subsequently occurred, the Board feel a melancholy pleasure in thus publicly expressing the respect in which they hold his memory."

But more touching and impressive was the resolution put before the public meeting convened at the Town Hall in his honour by the Hon'ble Jagannath Shankersheth when he addressed the meeting as follows:—

"You [Judge Le Geyt] as his friend and his colleague, Mr. Chairman, know how highly I estimated the character of our deceased friend. He was not a scholar, and for the last ten years of his life he was not a wealthy man; indeed, he had fallen into evil days, and yet he managed to secure the esteem and love of all who came within his influence; and the question which suggests itself is what were the qualities which now we esteem and love which he possessed of all the

inhabitants of Bombay? his eminent good citizenship. He possessed that virtue, not common among people now, in an eminent degree. It is a virtue too little exemplified by our Hindu friends, who, I hope, will excuse me for so saying, nor is it universal among the Parsis, but it is more so among them than among other classes. Framji Cowasji exercised that virtue more than others of his countrymen; he was a steady good citizen, bold enough to speak out his opinion, and energetic to rest himself to do his country good. These virtues we are desirous to see universal."

The great Dadabhai Naoroji was present at the meeting and he too spoke in eulogistic terms along with many other Parsis, Hindus and Mahomedans, which shows in what universal esteem and respect this great Parsi was held. Framji Cowasji died nearly 80 years ago, but his name and fame are imperishable for he was a great servant of his community and his country. Of him it has been said that he was

> Never stooping, nor lying in wait,
> For wealth or honour or worldy state.

NAOROJI FERDOONJI

NAOROJI Ferdoonji belongs almost to the first batch of English educated youths in Western India who took to social and educational reform in the early years of the last century. Born at Broach in March 1817, he was but eight years senior to his more celebrated namesake, Dadabhai Naoroji, with whom he worked in intimate companionship for the uplift of his countrymen. After a brief spell of Government service in which he won the approbation of his officers in the Political Department, alike for his tact and fidelity, he settled himself down at Bombay to carry out those progressive schemes of social and educational work forged by the pioneers of the reform movement in Western India. Naoroji's solid but unpretentious work received due recognition in his own days, but, like all such work, is apt to be superseded and forgotten by the very people who benefited most by it. For it is unfortunate that there are



NAOROJI FERDOONJI



few records extant from which to glean the life and work of one who filled such a large and conspicuous place in the public life of his age. The writer of this sketch has therefore to draw largely from Sorabjee Jehangir's excellent memoir in the REPRESENTATIVE MEN OF INDIA published some forty years ago. Doubtless, Naoroji Ferdoonji, who had died only a few years before, had made his mark on his contemporaries, and it is inspiring reading to follow Mr. Sorabji's account of the multifarious activities of Ferdoonji in the service of his country and community—activities which have borne such excellent results in the half a century that has elapsed since his death.

A PIONEER OF REFORM

Ferdoonji received his early education at Broach and Surat and then migrated to Bombay where he joined the Native Education Society's School and made his mark as a prizeman. He showed proficiency in English and History and received a medal from the hands of the Earl of Clare, the then Governor of Bombay. Such scholarship

was at once rewarded with a teacher's post in the same School where he came to be known as "Naoroji Master". Not long after, he joined the Elphinstone Institution, where Mr. Sorabji says, he took an active part "in the educational movement which produced a new school of Native leaders in Bombay." A contemporary print, alluding to this movement, observed:

"The then English Professors, Patton, Green, Harkness and Reid, had something of Dr. Arnold's influence over the Native lads of their generation. Not Parsi reforms only, but all social reforms among the Natives, generally sprang direct from their influence and their teaching. Among the first disciples of these English masters were men like Messrs. Dadabhai Naoroji, V. M. Mundlik, Sorabjee Shapoorjee, and the late Dr. Bhau Dauji, and of almost all these Elphinstonians, 'Naoroji Master,' as he was called, was the first Native teacher. In college and out of it, the professors and the students worked together. The tie was not broken when their relations were changed. When, indeed, this little body of enthusiastic students left college, they became, under the guidance of Mr. Naoroji, ardent and indefatigable reformers, finding friends and advisers not in their late professors only, but in such leading Europeans as Sir Erskine Perry and Dr. Wilson. It was then that Mr. Naoroji tried to gallantly fight the battle of social reform amid volleys of abuse, and under the protection of the police. The first

Parsi Baronet stood aloof for a time, but the Cama family and the late Mr. Framjee Cowasjee espoused the side of the 'Young Bombay Party,' and the establishment of the *Rast Goftar* Newspaper gave them a recognised and, as years passed on, an influential organ. Assisted by their English supporters, the young reformers, Mr. Naoroji being the foremost, fought on undauntedly. To him is chiefly due the establishment of the first girls' school, the first Native library, the first literary society, the first debating club, the first political association, the first body for improving the condition of women, the first institution for social and religious reforms, the first law association, and the first educational periodicals. The result of these organisations became apparent as years rolled on in the religious, social, and domestic relations of Parsi life."

IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE

In 1836, when Mr. Naoroji was barely nineteen, he accepted the position of Native Secretary and Translator to Sir Alexander Burns, the British Ambassador at the Court of Kabul. His work in this capacity was greatly esteemed by the Government of India; but in 1839, unfriendly relations between Britain and Afghanistan set in, and a British army, under Sir John Keane, entered Afghanistan with the object of replacing Shah Shoojah on the throne which had been usurped by Dost

Mohomed. Mr. Sorabji gives a vivid account of the trials of Naoroji at this time, and we may usefully follow his narrative. Within a few months, Kandahar, Guzni, and Kabul were taken, but the victors were hemmed in at Kabul by Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Mahomed, and Sir William Macnaghten and other officers were treacherously murdered. The remnants of the gallant army marched to Jelalabad, but being surrounded by hostile tribes, were massacred to a man. The English Ambassador and his retinue shared the terrible fate of the rest. Fortunately for Mr. Naoroji, he was not then at Kabul, having received permission, on the occasion of the death of his father, to proceed to Bombay in order to settle family affairs. Sir Alexander Burns parted with Mr. Naoroji with great regret, but expecting his speedy return, raised no serious objection to his departure. He, however, placed on record his high appreciation of the services of his assistant, and gave Mr. Naoroji a high certificate with regard to his character and attainments. A very short time after the arrival of Mr. Naoroji in Bombay, the news

arrived of the murder of Sir Alexander Burns, his brother, Lieutenant Burns, Captain Broadfoot, and others, when Mr. Naoroji was warmly congratulated upon his fortunate escape.

Naoroji was a close and thoughtful observer in his travels, and his reports were always valued by the Government. He also contributed some vivid sketches of his travels to the press, and his private Diary, which he had kept in Afghanistan at the time of the last Afghan War, proved, when published, of great interest.

In 1845, Naoroji was appointed an interpreter of the Supreme Court of Bombay in which capacity he served until 1864 when he retired.

NAOROJI'S PUBLIC WORK

Relieved of official duty, Naoroji was now free to devote himself to the service of the public in various directions. Mr. Sorabji has given a vivid account of Naoroji's multifarious activities. Mr. Naoroji wrote several *brochures* and books both in English and Guzerati, mainly in respect of the Zoroastrian religion. In 1851, he started the Rahanoomai Mazdiasni Sabha, a religious society of which he was the

president till his death. Like all reforming institutions, the Sabha had to fight orthodoxy with energy, yet with no rancour or malice, and Naoroji had to bear the brunt of all opposition. It was with him a labour of love, though it cost him years of harassing trouble and annoyance. The society did splendid service for the Parsi community, and it is held by many competent to judge of it, that it was mainly through that body that the Parsis obtained their religious freedom. In fact, it was the function of this society to break through the thousand and one religious prejudices that tend to retard the progress and civilization of the community. Naoroji as its head, smoothed the way for reform, by combating narrow and bigoted interpretations of texts by orthodoxy. By his culture and forceful personality, Naoroji was able to carry his colleagues with him, and thus paved the way for a general acceptance of his advanced views by the community at large.

Naoroji was likewise connected with the foundation of the Bombay Association, a political body, in 1852.

He was appointed Secretary to the Association, and it was in this capacity that he rendered valuable and useful services to the Native community, He was, in fact, the guiding spirit of the Parsi Law Association, for it was mainly through his exertions that the Parsi community secured a Matrimonial and a Succession Act of its own. He devoted a great deal of his time and labour to these two questions, and his co-religionists often publicly thanked him for his disinterested and valuable services. Mr. Naoroji's opinion as regards the custom obtaining among his community in respect of these questions was, we are told, sought by the local courts of justice, and his evidence was always accepted as correct and weighty on the point. He was also instrumental in establishing the Girls' School Association, and might fairly be called the pioneer of female education amongst the Parsis, and for the matter of that, the entire Native community. In 1863, the Association, in recognition of Mr. Naoroji's valuable and enduring services, presented him with an excellent silver tea-set of the value of

Rs. 2,500, and also set aside Rs. 1,500 for the purpose of establishing a scholarship in his name, to be given every year to the most proficient girls educated in the school. He was a member of the committee appointed to manage the affairs of the *Rast Goftar*, and contributed articles in English to its columns for a number of years. He played no unimportant part in the discussions on the Inam Commission whose proceedings, in the resumption of long-existing grants, he exposed with an unsparing hand. He was amongst the first to advocate the introduction of grand and petty juries into the judicial system.

OTHER PUBLIC ACTIVITIES

Nor were his labours on behalf of his countrymen confined to this country only. For soon after his retirement from service, Naoroji visited England and subsequently, paid two other visits to that country. Whilst there, he gave several lectures in connection with the East India Association, and brought great influence to bear upon various Chambers of Commerce in favour of India. He also formed acquaintance with many promi-

nent State officials, gave evidence before the Indian Finance Committee, and did much towards enlisting English sympathy for the Natives of India. In 1873, he visited Guzerat, and personally enquired into the condition of the ryots, afterwards publishing the results of his enquiries. On the occasion of the disastrous floods at Surat, Mr. Naoroji was appointed one of the honorary secretaries of the relief fund, in which capacity he rendered yeoman service. The connection of Mr. Naoroji with the Municipality of Bombay was so markedly important, that he has been termed the father of that institution. It has been said of him that "his energy, his fluency, and his example have done more than anything else to make the Municipal Corporation of Bombay the first representative body in India."

PUBLIC RECOGNITION

Immediately after his death, the *Times of India*, in an eulogistic article, said that such varied achievements could hardly be ignored by Government, and in 1884, Naoroji was given the distinction of Companion of the

Order of the Indian Empire. In honour of this recognition, Naoroji was entertained at a Public dinner at which Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Bart., C.S.I., who presided, bore eloquent testimony to the meritorious services rendered by Naoroji. Sir Jamsetjee said :

"There was not a single question, whether it related to important matters like that of the drainage, the water-supply or the Fire Brigade of Bombay, or such light matters as the purchase of a book or a common apparatus, which did not attract Mr. Naoroji's attention and draw forth remarks, for or against, in the most unmistakable language, without fear of adverse criticism. He was celebrated for his independence of character, and always spoke his mind without fear or favour. He was known for his punctual and regular presence at the meetings of the Town Council and the Corporation, and he invariably lent activity and sprightliness to the sometimes dull debates carried on in those bodies. Both the Town Council and the Corporation will lose in him an honest adviser, a keen and a clever debater, and one who could give them the benefit of his wide and varied experience in connection with municipal matters. There has, in fact, been no public movement in Bombay during the last twenty years in which Mr. Naoroji has not taken a prominent part."

"I am sure there is not one in the assembly—nay, I am sure there are hundreds outside the Parsi community—whose hearts glow with feel-

ings of esteem and affection for Mr. Naoroji. Who does not know Mr. Naoroji ? And who that has known him can have failed to mark the sterling qualities of his nature ? His earnestness of purpose, his single-mindedness, his fearless advocacy of interests committed to his care, his determined adherence to principles that he has once settled upon for his line of action. In the warmth of my own feelings of admiration for his remarkable character, I do not propose to present to you an overdrawn picture of Mr. Naoroji's career. I know his detractors, if indeed he has any, may, in the long and varied course of his public usefulness, point to this or that isolated occasion when there has been to their thinking an error of judgment on his part, but in arriving at a just estimate of his claims, it would be impossible even for his detractors to deny that his foibles are but few, his virtues many, and that during a long course of years he has devoted himself honestly, earnestly, and assiduously to the promotion of the welfare of his fellow-citizens and of his countrymen. Intolerant of jobbery in every shape, he has always been sedulous in exposing it wherever he had a scent of it, and no fear of opposition or of consequences of displeasing the great and the powerful ever made him flinch. It is impossible not to admire and respect such a character and career."

This was indeed a well-deserved tribute which was duly appreciated by the gathering which was enthusiastic in its praise of Naoroji and his great work. Mr. Naoroji himself

acknowledged this in a fitting speech in which he modestly disclaimed all credit for distinction as he was merely doing his duty.

THE END

Naoroji died on the 22nd September 1885. He had lived his three score years and eight in the service of his countrymen in various capacities. Many were the public institutions that bore the marks of his work. Municipal, educational, religious, social and political bodies vied with one another in honouring the memory of an unsullied career. "By his removal", described the Masonic circular, "the pillars of our Grand Lodge are shaken". The Municipal Corporation suspended their sitting out of respect for his memory, while the Town Council, of which Naoroji was a member, passed the following resolution:—

"That the Town Council desire to record their deep sense of the many eminent services rendered to the public of Bombay by their valued colleague, the late Mr. Naoroji Ferdoonji, Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire, more especially as a member of the Council during the past ten years, and as one who for double that period was the constant, conscientious, and trusted representative of the rate-payers in successive Municipal Administrations in the City."

BYRAMJEE JEJEEBHOY

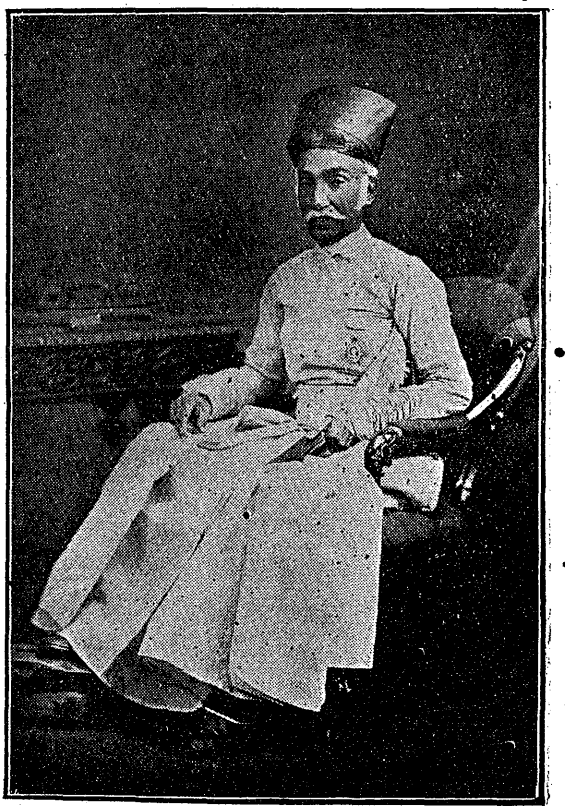
THE Jejeebhoy family hailed from Ilav; the first to migrate to Bombay about the year 1729 was Jejeebhoy Maneckjee. What mission took him to Bombay and what he did there or left behind is not known. All that the author of MUMBAINO BAHAR tells us is that he left a son Merwanji. Being speechless, Merwanji was called "Muga", and the name stuck to his descendants for some years until it was dropped in favour of the ancestral name Jejeebhoy. Labouring under that physical disability, Merwanji occupied himself with thread and needle and so distinguished himself in the sartorial art that the contractors for the supply of clothing to the army made over a goodly portion of their contracts to him. His son, Dadabhoy, distinguished himself in the service of famous commercial houses and laid the foundations for the prosperity and reputation of the family which every succeeding generation has strengthened and sustained.

Dadabhoy's son, Jejeebhoy (1786—1849) commenced his career as a godown-keeper to the firm of Messrs. Leckie & Malcolm (subsequently known as Messrs. Shatton Malcolm & Co.), soon rose to the position of an influential broker and started a firm named Jejeebhoy Dadabhoy Sons & Co., for carrying on extensive business with the Far East. In those days, there was not a single joint-stock bank, nevertheless, if one wanted a draft on any place from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, one could get it from private bankers dealing extensively in credit. One of these bankers was Jejeebhoy who was invited in the year 1841 to join the Board of Directors of the newly established Bank of Western India and assisted in promoting the Oriental Bank which sprang up from, and swallowed up, the parent institution. He was the first Indian elected to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, and to him also belongs the credit of establishing the Bombay Steam Navigation Co., his own vessel, the *Sir James Rivett Carnac*, being the first steamboat to ply on the western coast of India.

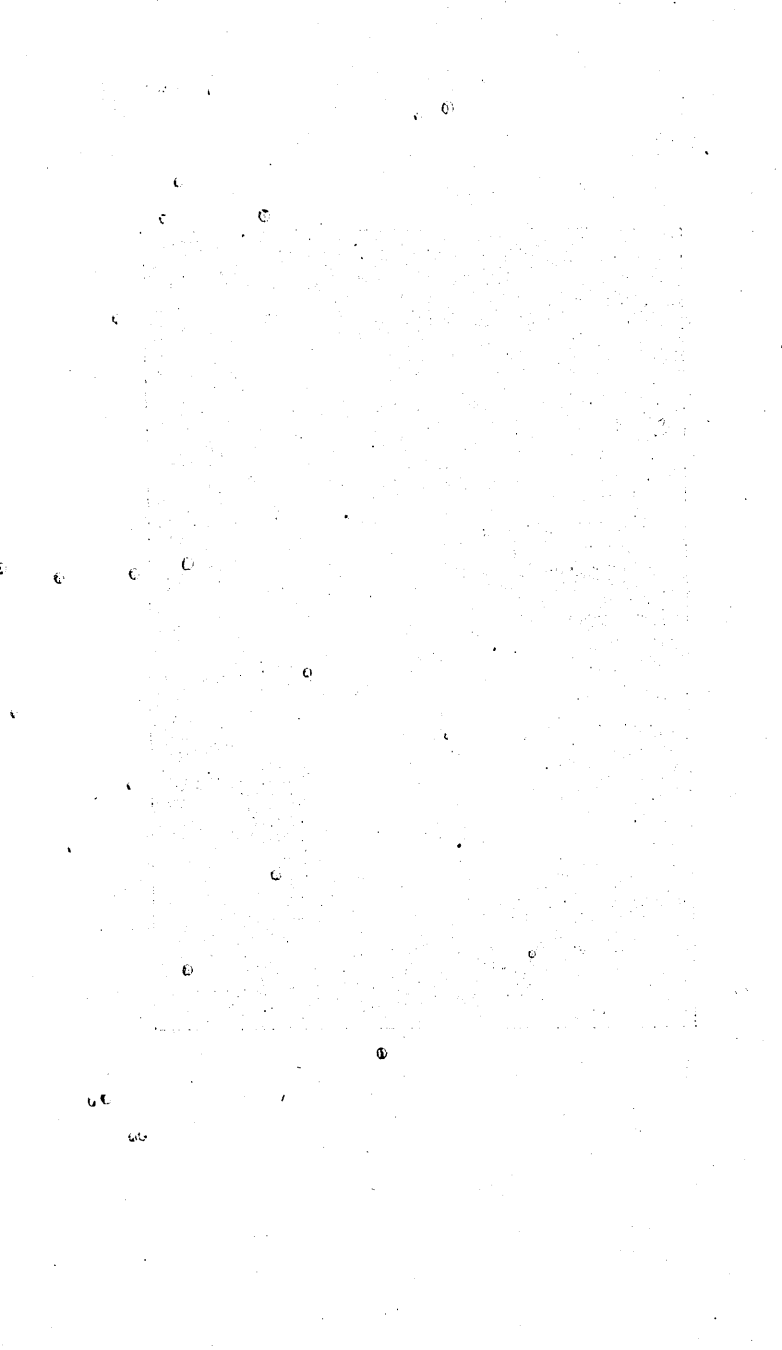
Among his co-religionists, Jejeebhoy was esteemed as the Nestor of the community. As a member of the Parsi Panchayat, he took a keen interest in settling the disputes of members of the community with such happy results that long after his death, his need was felt by people oppressed by prolonged and harassing suits. No less were his munificent endowments remembered with gratitude by the Parsis. Most of these were founded for the promotion of education, and they serve to illustrate the foresight of the leaders of the Parsi community in laying, even in those days of ignorance and superstition, solid foundations for the progress and welfare of the community. Often and often, statesmen and historians have expressed their surprise that a small and numerically negligible community like the Parsis should be found in the vanguard of progress in India. The simple explanation is that their ancestors were sagacious enough to appreciate the benefits of education in days when the torch of knowledge was most dimly lit in this country.

Byramjee, the subject of this memoir and the most illustrious scion of the Jejeebhoy family, was the youngest son of Jejeebhoy. Born in Bombay on 16th June 1822, he was educated at a private school run by Mr. Mainwaring. Here the sons of the Indian aristocracy were educated along with European boys. Straight from the school, he went to his father's firm and was soon made a partner in the firm. When it was dissolved in 1854, he carried on business on his own account and soon rose to the rank of one of the merchant princes of Western India. As a director of several banks, railway companies and mills, he was the moving spirit of the commercial life of the Presidency. He took the initiative in starting the Royal Spinning and Weaving Mills and co-operated with J. A. Forbes in establishing the first local Fire Insurance Company in Bombay.

Government were not slow in recognising the business capacity and intellectual attainments of Byramjee. In 1855, he was created a Justice of the Peace. The Bench of Justices were then responsible, *inter alia*, for the



BYRAMJEE JEJEEBHOY



supervision and control of the municipal fund and elected three of its members to serve on the Board of Conservancy which performed all the executive duties of local government in those days. Thus commenced the connexion of the Byramjee Jejeebhoy family with the municipal administration of Bombay, a connexion which has since been maintained by an uninterrupted chain of successors to the present day. In 1867, he was appointed a Fellow of the Bombay University, and in the year following, he was nominated by the Government of Bombay an additional member of the Bombay Legislative Council, a distinction uncommon in that age when representative government was yet undreamt of by the people. On the expiry of the first term of office, Byramjee was re-nominated a member of the Council in which he won his spurs as a valiant champion of the interests of the people. During his term of office, several important legislative measures came up for discussion, such as the Cotton Frauds Act, the City Survey Act, the Toll Fees Act and

Caste Festival Tax Act, and the Act for levying town duty on grain. The defects of all of these measures he fearlessly laid bare and had the satisfaction of seeing several of his suggestions adopted by the Council. The last named measure he opposed with great vehemence, and urged that, instead of taxing the staple article of the people's food, Government should raise additional revenue from duties on spirits and liquor licenses. This plea for a free meal for the poor showed the warmth of his feelings for the half-starved population of the country and was greatly appreciated by the public. In fact, the public of the entire Presidency was so much impressed with the valuable services he had rendered in the Council that, on his retirement from the Local Legislature in 1872, numerous addresses were presented to him by the inhabitants of Bombay, Navsari, Surat, Broach, Ahmedábad and other places, appreciating the work done by him in the Council. One of the most notable instances of the universal approbation of Byramjee's meritorious services was an illuminated address from the Nawab of Sachin, testify-

ing to the gratitude of all the communities of the Presidency to the retired Councillor for voicing the sentiments and feelings of the people in the Council with great ability, tact and independence. Government also were not slow in recognizing the worth of such a citizen. On their recommendation, Queen Victoria conferred on him in 1876 the Companionship of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India. At a special Durbar held at Government House, Parel, on the 10th April, 1876, Sir Philip Wodehouse, the then Governor of Bombay, presented Byramjee with the insignia of this Order. When Queen Victoria assumed the title of the Empress of India, Byramjee was one of the few leading citizens invited from the Bombay Presidency to take part in the Ceremonial Durbar of the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi, and he was presented on that occasion with the Durbar Medal by Lord Lytton.

Remarkable as were his commercial and political achievements, it is Byramjee's splendid benefactions that have kept his memory green to this day. His endowments

are too numerous to be mentioned in this sketch. We can refer to only a few. The Government Medical Schools at Ahmedabad and Poona, the High School at Thana and the Anglo-Vernacular School at Bhiwandy, all received substantial donations from him, and Government have named these institutions after him in recognition of his munificence. The Gujerat Provincial College, the Parsee Girls' School Association, the Bombay Native General Library (now known as the N. M. Wadia General Library), the Alexandra Native Girls' English Institution, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Albert Edward Institute (Poona), the Pinjrapole, also received generous assistance from him. In memory of his wife, Maneckbai, he established a charitable dispensary at Mahomedabad. Another Medical Institution, which owes its inception to his philanthropy, is the little hospital at Matheran bearing his honoured name. But the most notable of his charities is the Byramjee Jejeebhoy Charitable Institution. This was the outcome of a Trust created by him a month before his death in September 1890,

whereby he made over to the Trustees Government paper of the face value of Rs. 3,50,000 for the establishment of an Institution for the free education of the children of poor Parsis. The Trustees started a high school, but they soon realised that the object of the donor to equip Parsi youths with the knowledge necessary for earning their living would not be adequately achieved unless that institution were converted into a school of commerce. Accordingly, in the year 1900, the school was turned into a College of Commerce. This was the first bold attempt for the spread of commercial education in Bombay and the credit for the successful accomplishment of the scheme was mainly due to the Managing Trustee, the late Mr. P. N. Wadia, who received, in carrying out the project, the whole-hearted support of Byramjee's grandson, Rustomjee, who was the Chairman of the Trustees for more than 30 years, and helped the institution with liberal donations.

Another Trust Settlement was created by Byramjee for the benefit of his family. In connection with it was founded a Charity,

Fund, the income of which is, until this day applied to charity. Thus is the honoured name of Byramjee Jejeebhoy permanently linked with divers institutions for the education and uplift of the people as well as for the relief of the poor and the suffering. It is now 37 years since the enlightened donor of these nstitutions has passed away, but the personal touch has not vanished. During Byramjee's life, his son Nanabhoy (1841-1914), who distinguished himself as a leading public man and exercised so great an influence on public affairs that he was generally acknowledged to be the "Uncrowned King of Bombay", attended to the work of these charities. After his retirement from public life, his son Rustomjee (1864-1922) took a keen personal interest in the administration. He too was a leading member of the community and a member of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay and contributed liberally towards public charities. When the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India was in want of funds for building a Home for the waifs and strays reclaimed

by the Society from the streets of Bombay, Rustomjee was the first to come forward to subscribe Rs. 51,000 towards the cost of construction. Thus encouraged, the Society embarked on its building scheme and the buildings eventually constructed for the shelter of poor boys and girls at the cost of nearly three lakhs are named the Byramjee Jejeebhoy Children's Home in compliance with the wishes of Rustomjee that the institution should be associated with the honoured name of his illustrious ancestor.

Rustomjee was appointed Sheriff of Bombay for the year 1923, but he died of heart failure in the act of taking the Oath of Allegiance on the 18th December, 1922. His son, Byramjee, has also held that distinguished office. He too is an influential member of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay having been Chairman of its Standing Committee in 1924-1925, and whilst worthily maintaining the family traditions of enlightened citizenship, he has also kept the stream of benevolence flowing from the coffers of the family. Like his father, he is also keen on

removing the hardships of the poor children of the city for whose protection and welfare until recently no concerted efforts were made in Bombay. He is the Vice-President of the Society for the Protection of Children, and he donated only recently a sum of Rs. 2,00,000 to the Bombay Government for establishing a hospital exclusively for children. The donation was readily accepted, and the foundation stone of the hospital called the Byramjee Jejeebhoy Hospital for Children was laid by H.E. Sir Leslie Wilson in December, 1926. He is the President of the Parsi Pioneer Boy Scouts, 32nd Bombay, and has received a gold thanks badge from Sir Robert (now Lord) Baden-Powell for the encouragement he has given to the Boy Scout movement in Bombay.

SIR DINSHAW MANOCKJEE PETIT

INTRODUCTION

THE subject of this sketch easily takes rank with Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy as a great commercial magnate and a prince among philanthropists. Alike by his business enterprises and his extraordinary munificence, Sir Dinshaw was a shining example of a great career, distinguished by every mark of success in life and fraught with profound beneficence for the country. For, modern Bombay and, in fact, the whole of Western India, might in a sense, be said to be the product of the enterprise and munificence of the great Parsi community among whom may be numbered many an illustrious name. Whatever might be said of the results of modern industrialism—and it is no doubt true that it has developed certain undesirable features like the slums and the over-crowding which we are trying to combat

in a multitude of ways—it was the Parsis and the captains of industry who devised those magnificent institutions which have supplied food and raiment to the poor in their millions. It is the mill magnates who have made Bombay the commercial and industrial centre that it is to day. It is their enterprise that has multiplied their own fortunes and supplied the wants of their less fortunate countrymen as well. Among these captains of industry, an honoured place must be found for this illustrious member of the Petit family—Sir Dinshaw Manockjee Petit.

THE PETIT FAMILY

Sir Dinshaw was born on the 30th June, 1823, of an old and well-known Surat family. Early in the last century, says Mr. Sorabji, in his admirable sketch in the *Representative Men of India*, Mr. Nasserwanjee Cowasjee Bomanjee, one of the members of the family and the founder of the present branch, migrated to Bombay, where he carried on business as agent to French vessels arriving at the port, as well as to the East India Company's vessels. It was while thus em-

ployed that he acquired the patronymic *Petit*, by which his family is known. Nasserwanjee was a man of small stature and his French constituents appropriately styled him "Petit": and the new name stuck to him and has immortalised successive generations.

EDUCATION.

Sir Dinshaw's parents sought to give him the best available education. In those days, there were but few sound educational institutions in Bombay, and Dinshaw was sent to an establishment kept by one Sykes, a pensioned Sergeant, who eked out his living by coaching up the children of wealthy Indians in English. After studying at Sykes's school for a time, Dinshaw was transferred to another establishment of a more pretentious kind where he completed his education.

Dinshaw's school career terminated about the date of his marriage in 1837, when he was in his fourteenth year—rather too early according to modern notions. The bride, who was destined to be his faithful ally in his manifold charitable works, belonged to the well-known Panday family. That family was

squally celebrated for its philanthropy, as the Sanatorium for poor Parsis and the *Dharamshala* for the needy in Poona testify. Lady Sakarbai (wife of Sir Dinshaw) was born in 1826 and was eleven years at the time of her marriage. While actively participating in her husband's charitable work, she devoted herself with more than ordinary success to the management of her home and the careful upbringing of the large family of sons and daughters whom she bore to Sir Dinshaw. Her kindliness, no less than her ability, says Mr. Sorabji, was widely recognized in social circles, and many a small dispute was submitted to her for arbitration to the benefit of the parties concerned. It is no exaggeration to say that at the date of her death, on 6th March 1890, she was universally recognized by the Parsis and other residents of Bombay "as one who, in her private life, had offered a shining example of wifehood and motherhood, and, in public matters, had established a standard of religious conduct and philanthropy to which all might with advantage aspire."

APPRENTICESHIP

Dinshaw commenced work as an apprentice on a salary of Rs. 15 a month in the firm o Messrs. Dirom, Carter & Co., in which his father was a broker or Dubash. By dint of steady application and his natural aptitude for commerce, says his biographer, he was rapidly promoted to a salary of Rs. 100 *per mensem*, and having mastered the details of the export and import business, commenced a little trading on his own account. In 1845, Mr. Richmond, one of the partners of the firm, severed his connexion with the business and opened a firm of his own, with Mr. Dinshaw Petit as his general manager. In this position, Mr. Petit's capacity, we are told, found wider scope, and he took full advantage of the opening. In company with his brother, Nassarvanji, he also found time to conduct his father's brokerage business and continued his connexion with it until 1869, when his own affairs demanded all his attention.

Indeed, up to the time of his father's death in 1859, Dinshaw carried on business both on

his own and on his father's account; and he thus acquired, during these dozen years of apprenticeship, all the experience and the capital which enabled him to launch out on his own account in 1860, and become the *doyen* of the industry to which Bombay owes so much of her commercial prosperity and importance Dinshaw certainly inherited much of the practical sagacity and business acumen of his father under whom he was so early apprenticed, but it was his own steady perseverance and undaunted courage and patience that enabled him to dominate the situation on many a critical occasion, and tide over difficulties to which so many of his contemporaries succumbed.

BOMBAY IN THE SIXTIES

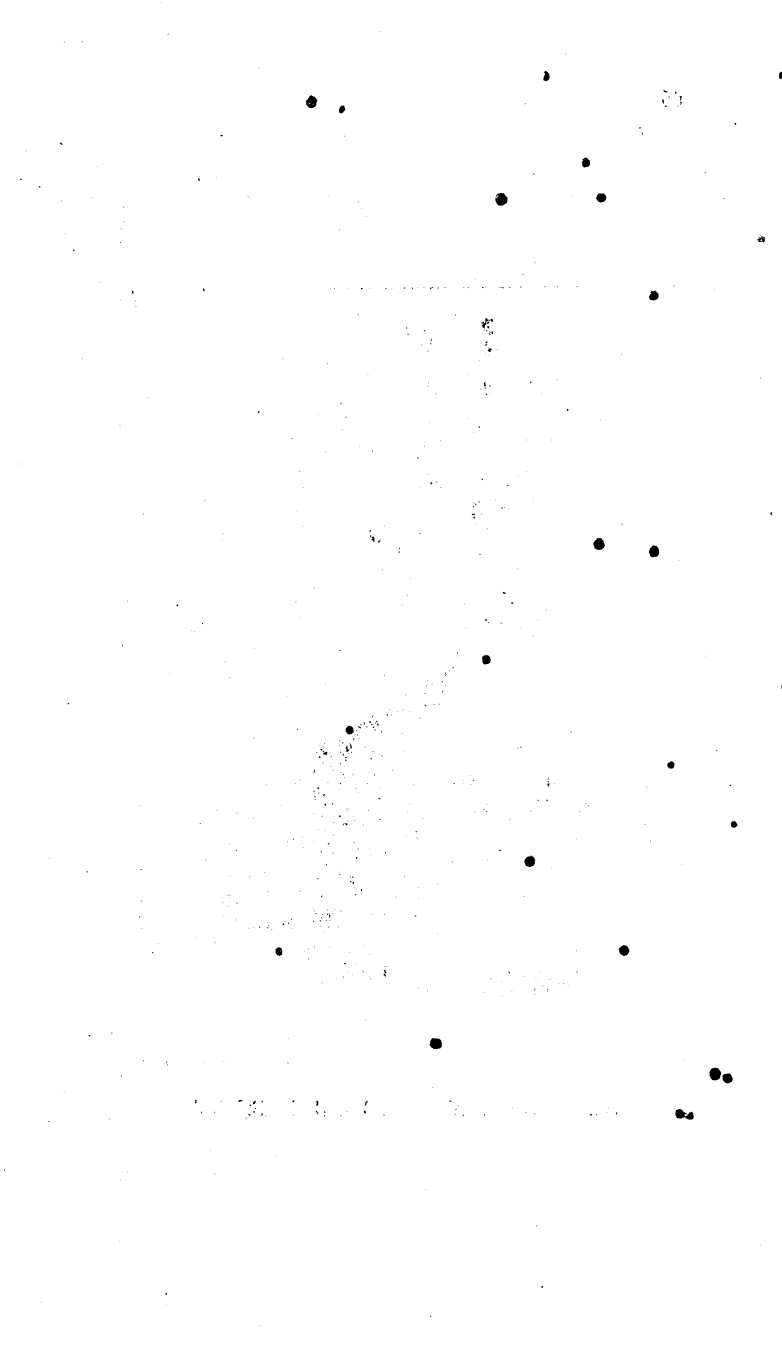
Five years after the death of his father, Dinshaw, who separated from his brothers with twenty-five lakhs of rupees, started business of his own. Bombay was then passing through one of those phases instinct with tremendous possibilities, alike of fortune or disaster. The great American War had given a wonderful impetus to the cotton industry of

Western India. Companies began to multiply like mushrooms, and men were playing ducks and drakes with their money, investing it in bubble companies. It was difficult to steer clear of quicksands upon which many a good firm was wrecked. Dinshaw however kept his head cool; and though, like the rest of his companions in trade, he had his own share of loss engendered by the speculative rage of the time, he managed to live through the crisis without much loss of money and considerable enhancement of his reputation for business integrity. It is said that he had to pay some thirty lakhs away for calls on shares owing to the failure of parties to whom he had advanced money. These losses, however, were more than counterbalanced by his gains, and he issued "from the searching ordeal of the financial crisis which followed the speculation with a really colossal fortune," and with a reputation as a business man which stood him in good stead in the years that followed.

For it was about this time that he realised the great possibilities of the mill industry

In fact, as Mr. Sorabji puts it happily, he was "one of the pioneers of the movement which has revolutionised Bombay and converted it into an Eastern Manchester."

The first cotton-spinning mill started in Bombay was established by the late Mr. Cowasjee Nanabhai Davur, and as this was a successful venture, Mr. Manockjee was encouraged to imitate his example, and erected a similar mill with the addition of looms for weaving cloths. The efficient manner in which the Oriental Spinning and Weaving Mill, as the concern was called, was worked, insured its success financially, and from that time forward, mill enterprise grew in importance until it attained its present dimensions. Mr. Dinshaw was naturally largely employed in his father's mill work, and he soon obtained complete insight into the business in all its departments. His shrewd, practical mind foresaw that there was a great future in store for the newly-established trade; and after the death of his father, he, with his brother, Mr. Nasserwanji, started a mill which was to be called the Manockjee Petit Spinning and Weaving Mill, and they then decided to convert the mill into a joint stock concern, the principle upon which the great majority of the Bombay mills of the present day are worked. The original capital of the Company was Rs. 25,00,000, and the mill establishment started with 61,000 spindles and 1,200 looms. Subsequently, Mr. Dinshaw purchased at his own risk for ten and a-half lakhs of rupees the Fleming Mill, one of the establishments of which Nursey Kesavji & Co., were the





SIR DINSHAW MANOCKJEE PETIT

agents. This mill, which contained 50,000 spindles and 800 looms, was offered to the shareholders of the Company, and as it had been purchased for about one-half its original cost, the offer was readily accepted. For this and other objects, the capital of the Manockjee Petit Manufacturing Company has been greatly increased, and it now stands at Rs. 36,00,000, the shares of the Company being in great request in the market owing to the sound character of the concern.

A GREAT CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY

The successful outcome of this venture proved to Mr. Dinshaw that mill property offered a splendid field for the investor, and at the same time, afforded the means of establishing what the country so much wanted—a new and profitable industry. He accordingly devoted his large business experience and his resources to the extension of the trade, and, in course of time, became the chief shareholder and agent of the following concerns in addition to the Manockjee Petit Mill:—the Dinshaw Petit Mill, the Mazagon Mill, the Framjee Petit Mill, the Victoria Mill, and the Gordon Mill. A large portion of Mr. Dinshaw's fortune was invested in the mill trade, and he had the satisfaction of knowing that whilst

handsome profits had resulted from his enterprise, he had been, perhaps to a greater extent than any other individual, the means of opening up to thousands of his fellow-countrymen a new means of livelihood and establishing on a firm basis an industry which, though yet in its infancy, has been of incalculable benefit to India. The area, over which the operations of the Bombay mill-owners extend, at first confined to the limits of India, had long since been extended to China, South Africa, Persia, and the Straits Settlements, and every year, new markets are being established for the sale of Bombay goods.

Mr. Dinshaw has ever been alive to the necessity of insuring a wide field for the traders' operations in order that the supply may not outreach the demand; and he has never lost sight of the fact, that to make locally-manufactured materials popular, they must be equal in every respect to the English-manufactured goods with which they compete. Nor has he contented himself with a simple adherence to the narrow lines upon which the Companies first started. As opportunity offered, he has been the means of introducing new lines of business which were likely to yield a good return on the outlay made upon them. For instance, in the Manockjee Petit Mills, hosiery, damask, and various kinds of fancy goods as well

as sewing cotton are manufactured, and have not only a good local sale, but are held in repute in markets further afield.

Again, Mr. Dinshaw, in conjunction with Mr. J. Alston, a gentleman who was the proprietor of a dyeing establishment in England, and Mr. Naoroji N. Wadia, the able manager of the Manockjee Petit Mill, also established a yarn-dyeing factory, which, although on a small scale, has been the means of showing capitalists how profitable such investments are when properly managed.

In this factory, yarns are dyed Turkey red, green, red, and yellow, just as well as they could be in England, and the annual sales amount to two or three lakhs of rupees. Thus, in various ways, Mr. Dinshaw had during his long and useful career, done much to increase his country's prosperity, whilst he has added to his wealth.

PUBLIC ACTIVITIES

Sir Dinshaw did not confine himself to his own business, but took his part in public affairs as befitted a man of his position and prestige as a great captain of industry. His wide experience and knowledge of affairs were availed of by many a business concern, and he was always sought after by the direct-

ors of other companies in different parts of the country to join their concerns and lend them the benefit of his direction. Thus he lent the weight of his name to a multitude of other concerns in which the very fact of his association proved an asset of no inconsiderable value in the business world. Accordingly, Sir Dinshaw was a Director of the Bank of Bombay, the Bombay Fire Insurance Company, the Hyderabad (Deccan) Spinning and Weaving Company, and several others, besides being a director of all the mills under his management. He was also a member of the Persian Zoroastrian Amelioration Fund Committee, the Society for the Relief of Destitute Persian Zoroastrians in Bombay, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Sassoon Institute, and the Sir Jamsetjee Parsi Benevolent Institution.

Sir Dinshaw's career as a business man and his public activities made a profound impression on his contemporaries. Indeed, he distinguished himself in both fields. It should be noted that while his direct benefactions were in

a way of considerable public advantage, into the country they were second to none. When in the great industrial crash of 1864, hundreds of business men lost their trade and were ruined, it was to him that they turned for succour: and he did not fail them. To the poor, in particular, he was a constant friend helping them out of their difficulties in individual cases and otherwise engaging himself in works of public charity.

It now remains to advert briefly to a few particulars of his munificence, which had been the most distinguishing feature of his life, and which had brought him prominently into public notice. Sir Dinshaw's philanthropic career may be said to have commenced from 1859, and from that time onwards until his death, his charities continued to flow unceasingly. As it would be too numerous to enumerate them here in detail, it will be enough to state that the total amount of his benefactions—public and private—amounted to nearly twenty lakhs of rupees, or £ 200,000 sterling, towards religious, educational, medical, and other philanthropic

purposes, including contributions to public funds, testimonials, etc. Amongst his benefactions, the establishment of a Hospital for Animals, called after his wife's name, of a Female College, of the Petit Hospital, and the presentation of the Elphinstone College land to the Government (which he took over from the Government in exchange for his property, known as the Hydraulic Press), for the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, deserve special mention.

HIS BENEFACTIONS

Like most really benevolent men, Sir Dinshaw, says his biographer, did so much good by stealth that it is difficult for a chronicler to estimate the extent of his private benefactions; but he annually spent a large amount on charity, and especially on schemes having for their object the advancement of the public good or the amelioration of the condition of his own section of the community. Asylums for infirm animals, schools, *dharamsalas*, reservoirs, dispensaries, and numerous other

institutions made heavy calls upon his liberality; and Hindus, Mahomedans, and Christians, as well as Parsis, have shared in the fruits of his munificence. As a Parsi, he was mindful of the peculiar claims of his own community, and he had been instrumental in the construction of the Towers of Silence and Fire Temples in several localities for the use of his co-religionists. Whenever a fund was required to be raised from the Zoroastrian community, the work of raising it and collecting the subscriptions was almost always given to him, and all contributions were paid into his office and entrusted to his charge, where they accumulated till the required sum was reached. The good work he had been the means of accomplishing was not confined to the ordinary channels of charity. For, as one of the largest employers of labour in Bombay, "he had it in his power to do much to assist indigent people who were capable and willing to work, and it had always been his practice to provide such people with employment when he could do so with due regard to the interests of the shareholders concerned."

HONOURS

No wonder, with such a record of business achievements, public activities and benefactions, he rose quickly in the esteem alike of the people and the Government.

In 1886, the Government of Bombay appointed Mr. Dinshaw to the Shrievalty; and in February, 1887, he received the honour of Knight Bachelor, on the occasion of the Jubilee of the Queen-Empress, in recognition of his large-hearted munificence. The public, as well as the Press of Bombay, English and Indian, were much gratified at one of their most eminent citizens being thus honoured, as was evidenced in the congratulatory addresses presented to him by several public bodies and in the laudatory notices of which he was the subject. In the City, a meeting of influential and representative citizens of all denominations was held under the presidency of Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, at which the following address was voted, showing in what esteem the recipient is held by the general community :—

Although you have already received many addresses of congratulation from various sections of the inhabitants of this great City, expressing their gratification at the high and honourable distinction which has been bestowed on you by our Most Gracious Sovereign, the Queen-Empress of India, we trust that this particular expression of the good wishes of your fellow-citizens generally, will be none the less acceptable to you, representing as it does the feelings of regard in which you are held by all classes and conditions of the Bombay community, in whose interest you have laboured so long and unostentatiously, and by whom your public and private virtues as a citizen are so highly appreciated. Deeply as the City is indebted to you for the important part you have taken in developing the cotton-mill industry, and adding so materially to the prosperity and expansion of the local trade, your services have been equally beneficial as the friend and supporter of the many noble charities with which the City is endowed. Without attempting to enter at length into details, it is enough here to allude to the large-hearted generous and catholic sympathy which you have always extended to every movement intended for the benefit and welfare of your fellow-citizens, whether in matters connected with the progress and extension of education and knowledge, the relief of suffering humanity, the helping of the indigent, or the establishment of institutions of public utility and benevolence? And we trust that you and the members of your family may long be spared to enjoy the prosperity wherewith you have been so largely blessed, and which you have so generously applied.

As we have pointed out, Sir Dinshaw's benefactions to his own community were manifold. And, naturally, their gratification at the elevation and the honours conferred on him was great. But there was singular appropriateness in the distinction he received from H. M. the Shah of Persia by the presentation of a "Royal Diploma", expressive of his recognition of Sir Dinshaw's great merits.

The closing years of Sir Dinshaw's life synchronized with a serious crisis in the industry which he had spent so many years in developing. Between 1884 and 1898, says Mr. S. M. Edwardes in his admirable *Memoir of Sir Dinshaw*, he had witnessed the number of mills in Bombay increase from 43 to 82, and the number of workmen increase from 36,000 to nearly 71,000. A series of epidemics and natural calamities destroyed for the time being the profits of the industry; and when the crisis was past and a new era of prosperity dawned, Sir Dinshaw was no longer there to witness the recovery. One of the last of his recorded acts was the inauguration of a scheme at

the Manockjee Petit Mills to provide cheap and sanitary housing for the employees of the mills. Thousands of mill-hands, dwelling in ill-built and ill-ventilated *chauls*, had been swept away during the early days of the plague epidemic; and even in ordinary times the wretchedness of the houses in which they were forced to reside, led large numbers to seek relief in loafing and drinking. Sir Dinshaw realized that for the benefit of the industry, the proper housing of workmen was an absolute necessity, and therefore propounded a scheme which, while bettering the lives of his own workmen, might serve as an example to other capitalists and employers of labour.

At his office, says his biographer, he maintained a staff of clerks or *mehtas* to deal exclusively with the accounts of his charities, as distinct from his business accounts: and he constantly made inquiries about the recipients of his bounty, in order to assure himself that his assistance had been wisely and honestly utilized. In some cases, he would assist applicants by

drafting appeals for help, or by instructing his clerks to do so, and then, after heading the list with a donation, would direct them where to apply for further contributions. "People of every class and creed used to assemble daily on the verandah of his office with appeals for assistance. Parsis, Hindus, Muhammadans, and Europeans all sought his help, when there was a daughter's wedding to be paid for, or a child was ill, or a *dharamshala* or a drinking-fountain were needed in some town or village. Few of these myriad applicants ever left his office empty-handed, and to poor students who desired funds for their school or collegiate courses, he opened his purse-strings freely. In the rare cases when an applicant failed, in his opinion, to establish a claim upon his charity, he never forgot to reimburse the cost of his conveyance." It is not surprising that the *Jam-e-Jamshed*, in an article published after his death, should have styled him 'the modern Hatim Tai of India', for among the Arabs, Hatim, the chief of the noble tribe of Tai, who died a few years before the birth of the Prophet, was a model of Arab

manliness and munificence, and his name has become proverbial in Arab literature for liberality. Sir Dinshaw died on the 5th May 1901, at the age of seventy-eight.

A FITTING MEMORIAL

Shortly after Sir Dinshaw's death, an influential committee of the leading citizens of Bombay was appointed, after a public meeting, to collect funds for a permanent memorial, and to decide what form the memorial should take. The result of the committee's activities, and of the desire of the general public to commemorate their benefactor was the erection of the magnificent statue of Sir Dinshaw Petit which now stands on one of the most prominent sites in Bombay, opposite the Victoria Terminus of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway.

HIS SONS AND GRANDSONS

We have already told our readers that Sir Dinshaw was married in 1837 to Bai Sakarbai, and fourteen children were born to them. His two sons Framjee and Bomanji had assisted their father in his business.

Indeed the descendants of Sir Dinshaw the first Baronet, have kept up the traditions of

the House, alike by their public work, and their benefactions which are vividly brought out in the admirable compilation of BOMBAY INDUSTRIES which was recently published by *The Indian Textile Journal.* It will be seen from the record of BOMBAY INDUSTRIES that the city owes not a little to the business talents and philanthropic activities of the great house of Sir Manockjee Dinshaw Petit.

Framjee, who was born in 1848, was the second son and was esteemed by all classes for his generosity and courtesy and he actively assisted his father in his industrial and financial undertakings and philanthropic work. He gave a munificent donation of Rs. 75,000 for establishing a laboratory for scientific research in biological and physical sciences. He travelled over Europe, America, China and Japan between 1881 and 1887, and published an account of the tours in book form. He unfortunately predeceased his father in 1895 at the early age of 39.

Thus Framjee's son Manockjee, who was born in 1873, succeeded to the title of his grandfather in 1901. He (Sir

Dinshaw Manockjee Petit) has continued the traditions of the house. He was for a short time Member of the Bombay Legislative Council. He is the Director of the Manekji Petit Mill Co., and the Framji Petit Mill, member of the Municipal Corporation and Chairman of several charitable institutions for Parsis; and has also been associating himself with all other public activities.

Bomanjee, who was born in 1859 and died in 1915, had been connected with the mills under the agency of Sir Dinshaw Petit for 30 years. He was a Director of the Bank of Bombay and its President for 1903; he was also President of the Bombay Mill-Owners' Association for the same year. He was nominated by the Bombay Government in 1899 to a seat on the Legislative Council, and in 1901 was appointed one of their representives on the City Improvement Trust. He gave Rs. 7,00.000 towards the endowment of a special hospital for Parsis and gave an equal amount in other directions.

Jehangir Bomanjee Petit is a Director of the Manockji Petit and Framjee Petit Mills. He

has taken a deep interest in public affairs as well, and is associated with the management of a number of other business concerns. He has been a member of the Municipal Corporation, the City Improvement Trust and the Development Board, and of the Mill-Owners' Association of which he was President for 1915-16. He is the founder of the *Indian Daily Mail.*

Dhunjibhoy B. Petit is the grandson of Sir Dinshaw, the first Baronet, and Managing Agent and Director of the Emperor Edward Mill.

Another distinguished member of the house is Cowasjee Hormusjee Petit who has received special technical training as Mill Manager. He was born in Bombay in 1893; graduated in Arts from the Elphinstone College in 1918 and joined the Bomanji Petit Mill as apprentice. He went to Manchester in 1922 and joined the College of Technology where he took a special course in "Textile Industries." Returning to Bombay in 1924, he rejoined the firm of D. M. Petit & Sons and is now superintendent of the Petit group of mills.



SORABJI SHAPURJI BENGALLI

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A GREAT REFORMER

SORABJI Shapurji was a great reformer, educationist and philanthropist, and one of the leaders in the public life of his time. Among the many men of light and lustre that have illumined the historic period of the 19th century, Bengalli stands forth as the pioneer of female education, a cause so dearly espoused by reformers all the world over. Sorabji's ancestors were highly religious, and when his grandfather Naoroji was in Calcutta, he helped the Parsis in securing a part of the Holy Fire acquired for the purpose of its installation in the Wadiaji's Atash Beharam at Dhobi Talao. Sorabji was born on the 15th February 1831, and as he lost his father in infancy (he was barely a year old when his father died), the whole burden of his education etc., devolved on the shoulders of his dear mother Bhicaiji, in whose memory he afterwards built the Bhicaiji Bengalli School at



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Fort. His early teacher was Naoroji Furdoonji, the illustrious public man of the early fifties of the last century; but Sorabji was not destined to receive very high education, and so he entered business under Mr. Tanner, a very sympathetic Englishman, on a salary of Rs. 20. In 1853, he became an accountant in the Mercantile Bank, and later, a broker to Messrs. Graham & Co., in company with Seth Varjivandas and Seth Narotamdas Madhavdas.

JOURNALISTIC WORK

But Sorabji had other aims besides making money; he meant to serve his community and his country to the best of his light. Though he could by no means be called rich, he had a very large heart and he gave away large sums of money in public charity; and though no scholar, he could write voluminously on topics of public interest so as to educate the masses and enlighten them on various subjects. In this capacity, he commenced writing for sundry vernacular journals and started the well-known JAGAT PREMI and JAGAT MITRA in which appeared articles of an informing character. This was in 1851.

He conducted the JAGAT PREMI for about three years, and after an interval, we find him, in 1857, writing on the ancient literature of Persia. A prize of Rs. 500 was offered by the trustees of the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Translation Fund for the best essay on the Books and Languages of the Religion of Zoroaster. Mr. Sorabji competed for and won this prize. The essay was published in 1858, and within twelve months, a second edition was demanded.

But it was the RAST GOFTAR founded by leaders like Dadabhoy Naoroji and Naoroji Furdoonji that opened out for Sorabji an ample scope for exercising those great powers which he had for carrying on propaganda in favour of social reform among all classes of people.

At the commencement of 1858, Mr. Sorabji joined several friends in the proprietorship of the RAST GOFTAR, which he edited for two years without remuneration, retiring from the editorship at the end of 1859, after satisfying himself as to its secure financial basis for the future. It has, throughout its existence, maintained its character as the organ

of the reformers, or the progressive section of the community.

In 1863, Mr. Sorabji went to Europe, and contributed to the columns of the RAST GOFTAR interesting accounts of his visits to the cotton and other factories, iron works, ship-building yards, coal-pits, etc., of England and Scotland. He came to the conclusion, from his observations of the several manufacturing industries of England, that the greatest drawback to the success of similar enterprises in India will continue so long as she has not the benefit of cheap fuel, and he therefore advocated the development of coal mines in the country.

But the greatest work of the RAST GOFTAR was in the fateful years of the share mania. Under Sorabji's inspiration, the RAST GOFTAR held itself aloof from the mad excitement of the period and stoutly opposed and exposed the wild schemes into which the Mercantile community of Bombay were being lured.

SERVICE TO THE PARSI COMMUNITY

An awakening having been caused, Sorabji agitated for the annihilation of the old weeds of

custom that had gathered round the purity of Zoroastrianism, and the *Rahnumaye-Mazdayasnan* Sabha was ushered into existence which for a long time successfully achieved the end in view.

This Association was formed, with Mr. Naoroji Furdoonji as President, for the object of eradicating, by means of discourses, circulars, pamphlets, etc., many harmful customs which prevailed on occasions of marriages and deaths among the Parsis, and the superstitious usages which had obtained in their ceremonials.

Education for both boys and girls was another object which the *Rahnumaye* Association had in view. The path for the adoption of its reforms was made smooth by the English and vernacular education which has generally spread among the community in subsequent years. Similar efforts at reform made among the Hindus during the same period did not succeed so well, but they have always had Mr. Sorabji's hearty sympathy, and we are told that the Hindu Widow Marriage movement was often assisted pecuniarily by him.

Sorabji was one of its prime workers, and the Saoha rendered very useful service to the Parsi community; and, after his death, it lost much of its spirit of usefulness and has not been able to recover since then its old position of power and influence.

PARSI LAW ASSOCIATION

Another service Sorabji rendered to the Parsi community was the active part he took in the promotion of the Parsi Law Association of which he was Joint Secretary along with his revered master Naoroji Furdoonji. The necessity of having separate legislature for the Parsis arose in the beginning of the 19th century from the event of the members of the community diverting from strict Zoroastrian principles in the matter of matrimonial arrangement. The Panchayat had got certain formal rules binding upon the people, but they were promiscuous for their violation rather than their observation and the climax was reached when some of the leaders in the Panchayat itself set at naught the rule that a Parsi should have only one wife at a time. From 1830 to 1865, a very furi-

ous controversy raged among the community, and at last Government had to interfere when the number of cases speedily rose up and the court could not tackle them easily, respecting Parsi feeling and sentiment. Mr. Boradaile, a Bombay civilian, and Judge Sir Erskine Perry were highly serviceable to the community which at last founded the above association in 1855 with Sorabji and Naoroji as its two able and energetic secretaries.

After ten years of hard work, and with the weighty influence of Mr. Framjee Nusserwanjee Patel as President, the Association succeeded, in the face of many adverse circumstances and covert opposition, in obtaining the desired enactments. The following paragraphs from the preface of Mr. Sorabji's book, called the "Parsi Acts," which, under the authority of the Parsi Law Association, he published in 1868, set forth the value and importance of these legislative measures :—

The reader who is at all conversant with these subjects will observe that in the Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act of 1865, the defined grounds of

divorce and dissolution of marriage are chiefly taken from the English Divorce Act of 1858. In times to come, the Parsis may, with proper pride, point to the fact that, of all purely Asiatic communities, they were the first, as they are still the only people, who have voluntarily imposed on themselves a law declaring bigamy a criminal offence and punishable as such after the manner of the English law. On similar grounds, they may claim honour as the first of Oriental peoples who, by legally defining her individual marital rights, have raised woman to a definitively higher social position on the basis of her personal claims as a reasonable and responsible being. The 'Parsi Succession Act' has remedied an anomaly that had given rise to endless disputes and annoyance —namely, that the Parsis of Bombay and the Mofussil were under two systems of substantive law differing widely one from the other. With the Parsis of Bombay, every description of intestate property was divisible according to the English statute of 'Distribution'; but with the Parsis of the Mofussil, the division of the property was carried out under Regulation IV of 1827, which left the disposition to be decided by 'usage and custom,' as the Civil Courts, in each case brought before them, might be led to interpret that indefinite standard. The tendency of such usage was to deprive of all claims to inheritance the widow and daughters of a Mofussil Parsi dying intestate, whenever the deceased had left sons, brothers, or brothers' sons, amongst whom the property was distributed to the exclusion of all claims on behalf of female relatives. The passing of the 'Parsi Succession Act' abolished this

injurious preference accorded to male relatives by Mofussil usage; and while it made the practice under bequests and intestacy uniform amongst Parsis of city and province, it also gave to the former a plan of distribution more equitable and congenial than they had enjoyed under the English law. * * * Thus, the property of a Parsi dying intestate in any part of British India is now divided amongst the male and female members of the family in a manner more in accordance with the fair claims of the women, and on those principles which, as the Parsis consider, properly define the relative obligations and duties of the male and female members of Parsi society."

It may incidentally be added that Sorabji made great researches into old Parsi and other comparative history, a knowledge of which is reflected in some useful historical works he afterwards published.

A COLLEGE FOR PARSI PRIESTS

In Mr. Sorabji's prize essay, on the "Books and Languges of the Religion of Zoroaster", he had recommended the founding of a College for the education of the Parsi priesthood, somewhat after European models. The idea was warmly taken up by the late Mr. Rustomjee Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, who with his family and friends, subscribed very large sums

of money, and entrusted the task of organising the College to Mr. Sorabji himself. The Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Zarthoshti Madressa was thereupon founded in 1863, and Mr. Sorabji continued for several years to be its honorary superintendent.

MUNICIPAL WORK

Mr. Sorabji was made a Justice of the Peace in 1864. In public life, Mr. Bengalli was straightforward and out-spoken; and in the days of Sir Seymour Fitzgerald when Mr. Arthur Crawford, the Commissioner of the Municipal Corporation, landed the Corporation in great financial peril, it was Sorabji who, conjointly with Naoroji Furdoonji, faced the danger of public obloquy and official ignominy and exposed Mr. Crawford and saved the people from his extravagances.

He thus took a keen interest in Municipal affairs and his own contributions to the new Municipal Act of 1872 were by no means negligible. We are told by the writer in the *Representative Men of India* that, previous to this, Sir Seymour Fitzgerald had desired Mr. Sorabji to state in writing his views on the

reconstruction of the Bombay Municipality. This he did in a letter, dated the 4th of November, 1871, and it is worth noticing that the new municipal constitution has been framed almost entirely on the lines laid down in that document. Mr. Sorabji remained a member of the newly-formed Corporation for four years, and then resigned on account of failing health, after presenting that body with a handsome banner bearing the Arms of the Municipality. For municipal administration, he was generally in favour of direct taxation, such as the house tax, and against indirect taxes, like the town duties, as the latter are liable, by relieving the richer citizens at the expense of the poorer, to be productive of unfair incidence and pressure. He had also frequently opposed the octroi duties being transformed into transit duties, as detrimental to the trade and prosperity of Bombay.

IN THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

We must now draw attention to another important work of Sorabji's. In 1876, he was nominated a Member of the Bombay Legislative Council, in the deliberations of which he

took an intelligent and active part, his labours in obtaining legislation for the protection of children employed in the cotton mills of Bombay being particularly worthy of notice. Finding that many children from five to seven years of age were employed in these factories, and constrained to work for twelve or thirteen hours a day, with only half-an-hour's remission, he prepared the draft of a bill to "regulate the labour of persons employed in the mills and factories in the Presidency of Bombay." But the Government, in forwarding it to the Viceroy, declared itself "unable to report" that a case had been made out even for such limited legislation as Mr. Sorabji had proposed. Nothing daunted however, he sent copies of his bill to England, when the venerated Lord Shaftesbury, the father of factory legislation in England, took up the matter, brought it several times before the House of Lords, and on the 4th April, 1879, succeeded in carrying an address to the Queen, "praying that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to instruct the Viceroy of India to take into immediate consideration the

necessity of passing a law for regulating the labour of women and children in the mills and factories throughout her dominion in India". Lord Cranbrook, the then Secretary of State for India, in the course of the debate, promised that the proposed "bill of Mr. Sorabji be considered fairly and fully, as it undoubtedly deserves". The subject being thus pressed upon the Government of India, and with the hearty sympathies of the Marquess of Ripon and Sir James Fergusson, who some time afterwards, the one as Viceroy and the other as Governor of Bombay, came into power, the Indian Factory Act of 1881 was passed by the Governor-General's Council, after it had met with very strong opposition from the Bombay Mill Owners' Association and others. By this Act, children between the ages of seven and twelve were to work for not more than nine hours a day, the interval for food and rest being increased to one hour. Some useful provisions were also made in the Act for fencing the machinery for the better safety of the operatives.

EDUCATION

But it is for the propagation of healthy ideas in favour of education in general and female education in particular that Bengalli's name is held in great endearment and reverence by the community and the Presidency. A band of zealous youths founded an association known as the Students' Literary and Scientific Society under the able guidance and leadership of Dadabhoy Naoroji and Mr. Patton of the Elphinstone Institution, which conducted a girls' school.

The Society also brought into existence other literary associations like the Gyan Prasarak Mandli and devoted itself to a very healthy and steady propaganda in favour of education among the masses. The institution with which Sorabji's name is connected and which was ushered into the light of the day by the above Society was the Parsi Girls' Schools Association about which Lord Falkland wrote in 1851 as follows;—"The institution is an epoch in the history of education in the Bombay Presidency, from which it is hoped, will, in due

time, be traced the commencement of a rapid, marked and constant progress." Later, Sorabji donated Rs. 65,000 in the name of his mother to found what afterwards came to be known as the Bhicaiji Bengalli School which has been for years past a source of great blessing to the middle and poor classes of the community.

IN THE CAUSE OF WOMEN

The cause of Indian womanhood was further espoused by Sorabji by the prominent part he played in bringing into existence the first female Hospital in Western India. The sufferings of Indian womanhood in their hour of trial are too well-known and Sorabji's sympathy towards them was excited, whereupon in conjunction with Mr. George Kittridge and Mr. Pestonji Hormasji Cama, he brought into existence the well-known Cama Hospital.

It is well known that a great many Indian women, and especially those who are kept in seclusion under the Purda and Zenana system, have a prejudice of long standing to being treated by male doctors, particularly in diseases peculiar to their sex. So strong

is their aversion, that they would rather suffer any amount of bodily pain than allow themselves to be examined and treated by male physicians. With a view, therefore, to remedy this evil, Mr. Sorabji and Mr. Kettridge earnestly exerted themselves in 1883 in commending a remedial scheme to the serious attention of the public. Their scheme comprised four distinct heads—first, the employment of qualified lady doctors from England; second, the founding of a hospital for women and children under the exclusive management of lady doctors; third, the instruction of Indian and European women in the local medical schools; fourth, the opening of a dispensary. Through the strenuous and sustained exertions of these benevolent citizens and the liberality of the Bombay public, all these objects have been satisfactorily accomplished.

Similarly, the Lady Dufferin Fund, Sir Tehmulji Nariman Lying-In-Hospital and several other dispensaries, Sanitaria and Ashrams, owed not a little to the prompt and willing aid of Sorabji. Thus his services to

the Bombay Presidency deserve in the words of Lord Reay "always to be mentioned with respectful gratitude."

OTHER ACTIVITIES

Not only was Bengalli a prime mover in all intellectual and spiritual movements of the Presidency, but he also encouraged among the youth of Bombay the noble pursuit of developing their physical powers. Accordingly, he was the first to bring into existence the annual feature of the Parsi Presidency matches which so much enlivened the activities of the public of Bombay, and which to-day too forms a unique feature in the general activities of Bombay.

We have already referred to his Municipal and Legislative Council work. It was due to his initiative that heavy export duties were lessened so that an impetus was given to Swadeshi industry. Though not an orator himself, nor a politician of the first rank, yet he took a very energetic part in the advancement of the political cause of the country by playing a worthy part in the Bombay Presidency Association. Mr. Bengalli may justly

be called one of the founders of the Association which used to have its occasional sessions at Fort just near his residence in the house of Seth Framji Nusservanji. It may be remarked here in passing that, along with his revered master, Naoroji Furdoonji, Sorabji Bengalli rendered that service to the political cause of India which may stand as a worthy record of what the Parsis did in the early days when yet no man could say a word against the Government. The latter realising the loyal spirit in which the Parsis worked did not unoften condescend to listen to them, as, for instance, when Sorabji fought on behalf of the factory labourers, his voice went up to the august assembly of the Parliament which put on record the following resolution. "Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to instruct the Viceroy of India to take into immediate consideration the necessity of passing a law for regulating the labour of women and children in the mills and factories throughout the dominion in India." On the Board of the Presidency Association worked men like Jaganath Sunkersett, Bomanj

Hormusji Wadia, Varjivandas Madhawdas, Prof. Dadabhai Naoroji, Kazi Saheb Mohammed Ussuf—all Indians above all in the cause of India's salvation, and Sorabji during his life time worked in the lofty cause as the true son of India. Similarly, he espoused the cause of social reform of which he was the foremost champion of his time. He encouraged lofty sentiments in that direction in the minds of members of other communities as well. For he worked, as we have said, in close fellowship with several Hindu reformers.

That Sorabji was a well-wisher of Indian art and industries could be recognised from the very energetic way in which he contested against the Government in the matter of advancing the rights of Swadeshi industry by removing those restraints from Indian enterprise and commerce which curbed them to ruin. Among the many public institutions of usefulness that owe their foundations to Mr. Bengalli's initiative may be named, in addition to some given above, the Widow Remarriage Association, the Victoria Natak

Mandali, etc. He was a pioneer in the collection of public funds raised in memory of men like Naoroji Furdoonji, Harischandra Mukerjee of Calcutta, Kursondas Mulji and Henry Fawcett.

Sorabji, so long as he lived, did not forget, above everything else, that he was a Parsi, and so served the community that gave him birth not only by cherishing its lofty spiritual ideal but also by contributing large sums of money towards its general uplift and directly participating in the multifarious problems affecting its vital condition. In 1873 when the Dungar Wadi Riot took place, he, along with Sir Phirozeshah, was the readiest helper of the community which was vouchsafed but little support by Government misled by officials like Mr. Omani and Mr. Frank Souter. Bengalli and Sir Pherozeshah stemmed the tide of the onslaught and boldly fought on behalf of the community till its case was substantiated.

THE END

Sorabji died on the 4th April 1893 leaving a considerable gap not only in

the social but also in the public life of Bombay. The very next evening, a committee of influential citizens of Bombay met to deliberate upon the earliest steps to be taken so as to commemorate the valuable services of the deceased. Accordingly, Mr. James Douglas, the then Sheriff of Bombay, was approached by all the leading citizens with a requisition to convene a public meeting which was held on the 17th April 1893 under the presidency of Sir Jamesetji Jejeebhoy. Mr. G. A. Kittridge, his life-long friend, moved a resolution regretting his loss, and spoke feelingly about Mr. Bengalli "in whom were combined, in a remarkable manner, ability, perseverance, integrity and calm judgment, with the highest sense of honour with strong convictions and the courage to express them." Further, he was, continued Mr. Kittridge,

"the excellent type of a gentleman, with a calm dignity of manner, which carried with it an extraordinary charm. * * * He then spoke of Mr. Sorabji's efforts to advance the moral and intellectual interests of his own race, his career as a journalist, his success as an author, his efforts in aid of the children in factories, his endeavour to obtain for the city a pure administration,

and his continued labours to promote female education."

Distinguished citizens like Dr. Machickan, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Acworth, Mrs. Pechey-Phipson, spoke on the occasion, and unanimously, a memorial was resolved upon and large subscriptions collected to which all Hindus, Mahomedans and Christians and Parsis contributed, thus showing that Bengalli was not of the Parsi community only but a valuable asset of the larger community of India.

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

INTRODUCTORY

PROBABLY very few of the present generation have seen Mr. Naoroji and yet his name is one to conjure with throughout the length and breadth of India. In the words of Gokhale: "Mr. Naoroji has attained in the hearts of millions of his countrymen, without distinction of race or creed, a place which rulers of men might envy, and which in this character is more like the influence which great teachers of humanity have exercised on those whose thoughts and hopes and lives they have lifted to a higher plane." The life of such a man, "one of the most perfect examples of the highest type of patriotism that any country has ever produced," is, therefore, full of lessons to all Indians who take a real interest in the progress and development of their Motherland.

EARLY LIFE

Dadabhai Naoroji was born in the city of Bombay on the 4th of September 1825 in a

Parsi priestly family. He lost his father when only four years old, but his mother made up for this and brought him up with great care. Helped by her brother, she gave him the best education then available in Bombay. He became a scholar of the Elphinstone Institution (now the Elphinstone College) and had a brillant academic career, carrying off most of the prizes awarded to the best students. By 1845 his studies were finished. Sir Erskine Perry, the then Chief Justice of Bombay, and President of the Board of Education, was so much struck by the young man's intelligence, capacity and knowledge, that he proposed to send him to England to qualify himself for the Bar, and offered to pay half the expenses if the members of Dadabhai's community would find the other half; but the proposal fell through, as the Parsi elders feared that Dadabhai might become a convert to Christianity in England—two or three conversions of Parsis having taken place a little before, causing the greatest consternation in the Zoroastrain community, which in matters of

religion is as orthodox as the Jewish. Dadabhai narrowly missed entering the Bombay Government service as a clerk in the Secretariat, but secured the post of Native Head Assistant at the Elphinstone Institution. In 1850 he was appointed Assistant Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the same institution, and later on acted as Professor. In this latter post he was confirmed in 1854. This was a great honour to him, as he was the first Indian to be appointed professor in the country. Dadabhai fully justified his appointment, but did not hold it long. He resigned it in 1856, and proceeded to England to manage the business of the great Parsi firm of Cama & Co., then newly started in London, of which he was a partner.

SERVICES TO BOMBAY

Dadabhai's life between 1845, when he finished his studies, and 1856, when he left for England, was an eventful one, marked by his wonted energy and selfless devotion. His activities covered a very wide range. With the help of Principal Patton, he

organised the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, which still exists. A journal, known as the *Students' Literary Miscellany*, was started in connection with the Society, and Dadabhai was one of the most diligent contributors to it. He started branches of the Society under the name of the Dhyan Prasarak Mandali for discussions in the Gujarati and Marathi languages, and delivered lectures himself under the auspices of the Gujarati Dhyan Prasarak Mandali. To Dadabhai Bombay owed her first girls' schools, which were opened amidst much opposition. At one of the meetings of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, a stirring paper on the advantages of female education was read by a gentleman named Behramji Ghandi ; and Professor Patton, who presided, urged upon the members the duty of their taking active steps in the matter. Led by Dadabhai, a number of the members opened classes in various parts of Bombay, and taught them themselves during their spare hours. These classes subsequently developed into the Students' Literary and

Scientific Societies' Marathi and Parsi Girls' Schools. The Marathi Schools still exist under the auspices of the Society, but the Parsi Schools were taken up by the Zarthasti Girls' School Association, one of which was later on endowed by the late Mr. S. S. Bengali, a co-adjutor of Dadabhai in all his efforts at social reform among the Parsis. Dadabhai was thus one of the pioneers of female education in Bombay, He also took an active part in establishing the Bombay Association, the Framji Institute, the Irani Fund, the Parsi Gymnasium, the Widow Marriage Association, and the Victoria and Albert Museum. In 1851 he started the *Rast Goftar* (Truth-Teller) as a Gujarati weekly and organ of the advanced and progressive views held by himself and other young men at the time, and edited it himself for two years with such able colleagues as Messrs. Naoroji Furdoonji, Jehanghir Burjorji Wacha and S. S. Bengali. This period of his life was thus full of activity, and Mr. Naoroji looked back upon it, "with pride and pleasure; with the satisfaction of a duty performed."

INDIANS AND THE CIVIL SERVICE

Mr. Naoroji's political activity began soon after he had set foot on English soil, and continued unabated to the end. Almost the first subject that attracted his attention was the employment of natives of India in the Indian Civil Service. In 1855 the old system of nominations to this service was abolished, and the present one of recruitment by open competition was adopted instead. Among the candidates who offered themselves at the first competition was an Indian, Mr. R. H. Wadia, the scion of a distinguished Parsi family of master-builders. The Civil Service Commissioners objected to admitting Wadia, on a technical ground, regarding limit of age—a point altogether doubtful. This led to a correspondence between them and the rejected candidate. Mr. Naoroji, who was in London at the time, took up Wadia's cause and fought, with the support of Mr. John Bright, for the relaxation of the age-rule in his case. He did not succeed, but this led him to take up the larger question of the desirability of holding simultaneous examina-

tions in India and England for the Indian Civil Service. He opened correspondence on the subject with the India Council and secured the sympathy of as many as four of its members. One of them minuted to the effect that our rulers were giving a promise to the ear and breaking it to the heart. But the majority were against him. Mr. Naoroji, however, did not give up the fight. With his charactaristic perseverance he kept on agitating the matter, until, in 1893, the House of Commons, by a majority, declared itself in favour of simultaneous examinations.

EDUCATING THE BRITISH PUBLIC

Shortly after going to England in 1855, he found that there was much ignorance in that country regarding India, its people and its governments, and it struck him that it would be of great advantage to India, if the English people were educated as to their responsibilities as rulers of India. For this purpose he started, with the co-operation of the late Mr. W. C. Bonnerji, the London Indian Society which, in spite of a chequered career, continues to exist to this day. Later, Mr.

Naoroji started a larger Association, known as the East India Association, which was to admit not only Indians, but all who were interested in the welfare of India. He collected donations and endowments for the purpose from some Indian Princes and Chiefs, and placed that organisation on a sound financial footing. Amongst the donors were the Gaekwar, the Holkar, the Scindia, the Rao of Cutch, etc. In the early years of its existence this Association did much useful work in the direction of disseminating sound and progressive views on Indian questions, and the volumes of its journal of that period contain much valuable material on Indian politics and economics. Many a retired Governor, like Sir Charles Trevelyan and Sir Bartle Frere, and other broad-minded and sympathetic Anglo-Indian officials used to read papers and carry on discussions. Both W. C. Bonnerji and Sir P. M. Mehta read useful papers, the former on Hindu Law, and the latter on Education. Mr. Dadabhai read many. The late Mr. Robert Knight contributed a most exhaustive paper on Indian

finances and other reforms. There were also papers on Self-Government, in which the well-known Counsel of Bombay, the late Mr. Anstey, took an active part. Mr. Naoroji travelled about the country, addressing meetings on Indian questions, wrote largely to the press, encouraged many to read papers before learned societies with a view to correct popular European fallacies regarding India, and corresponded with the Secretary of State for India.

FAILURE OF HIS FIRM IN LONDON

In 1866 Mr. Naoroji, who had separated in 1862 from the firm of the Camas and started one of his own, failed in attempting to befriend a Hindu gentleman and save him from bankruptcy. But the reputation that Naoroji had acquired for honesty and integrity in business stood him in good stead; so that when he placed his affairs unreservedly before his creditors they sympathised with him and showed him much consideration. The Governor of the Bank of England—one of the creditors—wrote to him personally and complimented him on his remarkable honesty.

With the help of loans from some friends and through the kindness of his creditors, he managed to escape from his financial difficulties and returned to Bombay in 1869.

BACK TO BOMBAY

His services to the cause of India, during his stay in England, were so highly valued that, on his return, a grand demonstration was promoted in his honour by the citizens of Bombay, at the instance of Sir P. M. Mehta, and at a large and representative meeting of all classes, an address and a handsome purse were presented to him, and his portrait was taken. Mr. Naoroji did not utilise any of this money for his private purposes, but spent it all on useful public objects. The Portrait Fund was kept apart earning interest till, in December 1900, the portrait was prepared and unveiled in the Framji Cowasji Institute under the presidency of the late Mr. Ranade, who made a most eloquent and instructive speech, his last public utterance, delivered a few days before his sudden and premature death.



THE VENERABLE VETERANS

HUME DADABHAI WEDDERBURN

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THE FAWCETT COMMITTEE

Mr. Naoroji soon after returned to England to give evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on Indian Finance, known as the Fawcett Committee. The most important point which Mr. Naoroji sought to establish before the Committee was the great poverty of India and the very high incidence of taxation in the country. This subject may be said to be the special study of Mr. Naoroji. When in his evidence before the Committee he stated that the average income per head in British India was so low as Rs. 20, he provoked only a smile and brought on himself the wrath of many Anglo-Indian officials. A bitter controversy followed but Mr. Naoroji courageously continued the agitation. In 1873 he issued, in pamphlet form, his facts and figures on the subject, calling it the "Poverty of India," and seven years later he revised the brochure and amplified it, calling it the "Condition of India." This book which is now out of print, is still of absorbing interest and a mine of valuable statistical information. It is indeed the basis of all later

efforts at a statistical study of Indian Finance and economics. Several years later, he had the satisfaction to find his views practically accepted by the Government of India's Finance Minister, Sir E. Baring, (later Lord Cromer,) who declared, as a result of official investigation, that the average income per head in British India was only Rs. 27 per annum. Mr. Naoroji also drew the attention of the Fawcett Committee to several defects in British Indian administration, among which were its extravagant cost, the enormous annual drain of India's wealth into England, and the iniquitable treatment of the natives of the country in regard to the higher offices in the administration.

DEWANSHIP OF BARODA

Mr. Naoroji returned to India in 1874, having been appointed Dewan of the Baroda State, which was then in a chaotic condition owing to the mal-administration of its ruler—Mulhar Rao Gaekwar. Mr. Naoroji had no easy task before him. He had a real Augean stable to clean, and in this difficult work he was hampered not a little by the unsympathe-

tic attitude of the British Resident—Colonel Phayre—and the intrigues of the corrupt state officials who till then had had their way entirely. But with his usual persistence, Mr. Naoroji worked steadily on with the able and efficient staff he had requisitioned from Bombay, and though he was Dewan for less than two years, he succeeded in completely reforming the administration and in putting down corruption, which had been rampant in the administration of civil and criminal justice. As to the differences with Colonel Phayre, Mr. Dadabhai had the satisfaction to see his conduct successfully vindicated by Lord Salisbury, the Secretary of State.

ACTIVITIES IN BOMBAY

After resigning his office as Dewan of Baroda, Mr. Naoroji returned to Bombay, and stayed there for some years, serving, meanwhile, his native city as a member of the Municipal Corporation. Being depressed by the repressive and reactionary administration of Lord Lytton, he had for a time kept a retired life. With a change in the Viceroyalty he returned to public life. He entered the

Corporation again and continued to be in it till 1885, during which period he rendered valuable service which that body recognized in the form of a resolution on its records. In the latter year he was invited by Lord Reay, the then Governor of Bombay, to accept a seat on the Bombay Legislative Council. He did not, however, remain long on the Council. As early in 1886 he left for England with the idea of getting into the British Parliament and fighting the cause of his native country there. But before his departure he took part in the inauguration of the Indian National Congress.

Mr. Dadabhai heartily co-operated with Mr. Allan O. Hume, a distinguished retired Civilian of the United Provinces, who, with the late Messrs. Telang, P. M. Mehta, W. C. Bonnerjee of Calcutta, S. Subramanya Iyer of Madras founded what has since been known as the "Indian National Congress," for reforming the administration. It held its first Meeting in Bombay during the Christmas Week of 1885 at which 75 delegates were present.

ELECTED TO PARLIAMENT

When Mr. Naoroji went to England in 1886, that country was in the throes of a General Election, and though he succeeded in getting himself accepted as the Liberal candidate by the electors of Holborn, he failed to win the seat, as the principal issue fought out was the question of granting Home Rule to Ireland, and public opinion on this was against Mr. Gladstone, who proposed to grant the concession. Mr. Naoroji, however, managed to poll 1,950 votes against his opponent's 3,651, a very creditable result when it is remembered that Mr. Naoroji lay under the double disadvantage of being a 'black man' and a Liberal. In spite of his defeat, Mr. Naoroji continued to stay in England, giving his attention to the interests of India, and redoubling his efforts to persuade a metropolitan constituency to return him to Parliament at the next election. Towards the close of the year, however, Mr. Naoroji returned to India to preside over the second sitting of the Indian National Congresss in Calcutta, when a garden party was

given by Lord Dufferin, Viceroy, in its honour and Mr. Dadabhai had a successful audience with him. In January 1887, he gave very valuable evidence before the Public Service Commission (itself the result of his own active agitation), and shortly after, left for England to renew his efforts to get into the British Parliament. After five years' hard work he succeeded, being returned by the electors of Central Finsbury as a Liberal Member at the General Election held in 1892. All India congratulated him on this unique honour, and there can be no doubt that Mr. Naoroji's success paved the way for the return, a few years later, by a London constituency, of another Parsi Sir M. M. Bhownaggree as its Parliamentary representative.

MAIDEN SPEECH

On the 9th August 1892, Mr. Naoroji made his maiden speech in the House of Commons, during the debate on the Address to the Queen, which produced a favourable impression. We make no apology for reproducing it in full below :—

It may be considered rather rash and unwise on my part to stand before this House so immediately after my admission here; and my only excuse is that I am under a certain necessity to do so. My election for an English constituency is a unique event. For the first time during more than a century of settled British rule, an Indian is admitted into the House as a member for an English constituency. That, as I have said, is a unique event in the history of India, and, I may also venture to say, in the history of the British Empire. I desire to say a few words in analysis of this great and wonderful phenomenon. The spirit of the British rule, the instinct of British justice and generosity, from the very commencement, when they seriously took the matter of Indian policy into their hands about the beginning of this century, decided that India was to be governed on the lines of British freedom and justice. Steps were taken without any hesitation to introduce Western education, civilisation, and political institution in that country; and the result was that, aided by a noble and grand language in which the youth of that country began to be educated, a great movement of political life—I may say new life—was infused into that country which had been decaying for centuries. The British rulers of the country endowed it with all their own most important privileges. A few days ago, Sir, you demanded from the Throne the privileges which belong to the people, including freedom of speech, for which they fought and shed their blood. That freedom of speech you have given to us, and it enables Indians to stand before you and represent in clear and open language any desire they have felt. By conferring those privileges you have prepared for this final result of an Indian standing before you in this House, becoming a member of the great Imperial Parliament of the British Empire, and being able to express his views openly and fearlessly before you. The glory and credit of this great event—by which India is thrilled from one end to the other—of the new life, the joy, the ecstasy of India at the present moment, are all your own; it is the spirit of British institutions and the love of justice and freedom in British instincts which has produced this extraordinary result, and I stand here in the name of India to thank the British

people that they have made it at all possible for an Indian to occupy this position, and to speak freely in the English language of any grievance which India may be suffering under, with the conviction that though he stands alone, with only one vote, whenever he is able to bring forward any aspiration and is supported by just and proper reasons, he will find a large number of other members from both sides of the House ready to support him and give him the justice he asks. This is the conviction which permeates the whole thinking and educated classes of India. It is that conviction that enables us to work on, day after day, without dismay, for the removal of a grievance. The question now being discussed before the House will come up from time to time in practical shape, and I shall then be able to express my humble views upon them as a representative of the English constituency of Central Finsbury. I do not intend to enter into them now. Central Finsbury has earned the everlasting gratitude of the millions of India, and has made itself famous in the history of the British Empire, by electing an Indian to represent it. Its name will never be forgotten by India. This event has strengthened the British power and the loyalty and attachment of India to it ten times more than the sending out of one hundred thousand European soldiers would have done. The moral force to which the right honourable gentlemen, the member for Midlothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), referred is the Golden link by which India is held by the British power. So long as India is satisfied with the justice and honour of Britain, so long will her Indian Empire last, and I have not the least doubt that though our progress may be slow and we may at times meet with disappointments, if we persevere, whatever justice we ask in reason we shall get. I thank you, Sir, for allowing me to say these few words and the House for so indulgently listening to me, and I hope that the connection between England and India—which forms five-sixths of the British Empire—may continue long with benefit to both countries. There will be certain Indian questions, principally of administration, which I shall have to lay before the House, and I am quite sure that when they are brought forward they will be fairly considered, and, if reasonable, amended to our satisfaction.

SERVICES IN PARLIAMENT

Mr. Naoroji's first effort as member of Parliament was to interest British members in Indian affairs, and, with the aid of Sir William Wedderburn and the late Mr. W. S. Caine, he succeeded in organising the Indian Parliamentary Committee which, for many years, rendered very valuable and substantial service to the country. In the year following his election, he got Mr. Herbert Paul to move the famous resolution about holding simultaneous examinations in India and England for the Indian Civil Service, and though it was opposed by the Government, it was passed by a majority of the House. The credit for this success was mostly due to Mr. Naoroji.

PRESIDENT OF THE LAHORE CONGRESS

Towards the close of the year Mr. Naoroji came out to India to preside over the ninth session of the Congress held at Lahore. His journey from Bombay to Lahore was a regular triumphal progress, a right royal welcome being accorded to him at every station at which the train stopped. On his

return journey the citizens of Allahabad presented him an address of welcome. Great was the enthusiasm at Lahore. They would not allow the horses to draw Mr. Naoroji's carriage, but had it dragged on to the President's camp by bands of earnest young men. Accounts of these incidents, wired from India, filled the columns of the British newspapers, and that great friend of India—the late Sir William Hunter—summed up his views on the situation in one of his notable articles in the *Times* on "Indian Affairs," in the following brilliant passage :—

> The enthusiasm with which the President of this year's Congress has been received in India was very striking. Mr. Naoroji is not only the first Indian gentleman who has ever been elected to Parliament, he is also an example of an early career of high promise being overshadowed by long frustrations in middle life and realised after unwearied perseverance in advanced age. The brilliant young student and Professor of Elphinstone College, who left Bombay to seek his fortunes in England in 1855, was received back last month, bowed with the weight of 68 years and of a great family sorrow. He had a welcome on landing such as has only on one occasion been rivalled even by a Viceregal ovation. His reception at Lahore has, perhaps, not been surpassed since the days of Ranjit Singh. It is for him and his colleagues to direct wisely the new influence which the Congress party has acquired in the House of Commons and the Indian Legislative Councils.

The 'sorrow' referred to was the death of his only son.

EVIDENCE BEFORE THE WELBY COMMISSION

The most substantial result of Mr. Naoroji's short Parliamentary career was the appointment of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure in 1896, of which Mr. Naoroji himself was a member. Sir William Wedderburn and Mr. W. S. Caine were two of his colleagues. Mr. Naoroji also gave evidence as a witness before this very Commission in 1897, generally known as the Welby Commission, from its being presided over by Lord Welby, and submitted a number of statements which showed his thorough grasp and wide knowledge of the complicated problems of Indian finance and politics. The following is a summary prepared by himself of his contentions in his evidence before the Commission :—

I have handed in to the Commission six printed statements. These statements contain the facts, figures and authorities upon which I rely, and I am prepared to be cross-examined upon them.

The headings under which my evidence falls are—(*a*) The Administration of Expenditure. (*b*) The Apportionment of Charges. (*c*) Practical Remedies. Upon each of these headings I am prepared to state categorically my most important contentions on behalf of India.

I consider that the Act of 1833, confirmed by the pledges contained in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858,

conferred upon Indians a right to their full claim and share of public employments and emoluments and voice in their own expenditure, in order to secure their happiness and prosperity, and good government and attachment to British rule and the prosperity of the British people themselves.

I maintain that the administration of Indian expenditure is not conducted according to the principles thus laid down, and that the non-fulfilment of these pledges has produced poverty and degradation; the inherent and essential defect of British administration being the financial, political and intellectual drain, which is inseparable from a remote, foreign dominion exercised in disregard of the sound principles above stated.

In my six statements I set forth the facts of India's poverty, as shown by the comparative production and consumption of each province, by calculating the average production of India per head; by analysing the trade returns; and by reference to the small amount of revenue obtained after exhausting all sources of taxation.

I maintain that the impoverishment and degradation of British India has been caused by the compulsory employment of costly foreign official agencies and foreign capital (represented by the public debt, political and commercial) beyond the means of the tax-payer, resulting in a drain from British India, financial, political and intellectual, aggravated by heavy Imperial war expenditure beyond the frontier, and that indirectly the foreign domination has caused a further drain by creating a practical monopoly in favour of foreign private capital, which reaps the advantage of British India's material resources.

My propositions are:

That it is the desire of the British people that British rule should be one of justice and righteousness for the benefit of both India and Britain, and not for the benefit of Britian only, to the detriment of India, and that the financial relations in apportionment of charges should be as those between two partners and not as those between master and slave.

That upon this equitable basis the apportionment or expenditure in which Britain and India are jointly

interested should be according to the extent of the interest and according to the capacity to pay.

That the creation and maintenance of British Imperial supremacy in India is a British interest of the first magnitude; yet, with a few exceptions, India has been unjustly charged with the whole cost of creating and maintaining the British Imperial supremacy without Britain paying any portion, and without India being allowed to share in the advantages connected with that supremacy.

That law and order are beneficial to India, but they are also a British interest, as a condition essential to the very existence and prosperity of British rule.

That, assuming, as it is said, that India should bear all those charges for internal and external protection which she would have to bear if British rule did not exist, she should not bear the special cost of European agency so far as used solely to maintain British supremacy. And, moreover, that if British rule did not exist, every one employed will be an Indian and not an European.

That as a practical arrangement Britain should pay for all British employed in Britain, that India should pay for all Indians employed in India, and that, as regards British employed in India, and Indians employed in Britain, there should be an equitable apportionment according to respective benefit and capacity to pay. To put it still more moderately, the payments to Europeans in both countries may be divided half-and-half between Britain and India.

That in the Army, Navy and Civil Services, public employment, with its advantages and emoluments, should be proportioned to the charge; and, in considering this point, it should be borne in mind that in India Government employment monopolises in great parts the sphere of private enterprise and the open professions practised in Britain.

That the wars carried on beyond the Indian frontier of 1858 are, as stated by Lord Salisbury, "an indivisible part of a great Imperial question," and that, therefore, the cost should primarily be borne by the Imperial Ex-

chequer, India contributing a fair share on account of, and in proportion to, indirect and incidental benefits accruing to her, and direct share in the services.

That from April, 1882, to March, 1891, nearly Rs. 139 millions were spent from Indian revenues beyond the western and north-western frontiers of India, for avowedly Imperial purposes, and that a fair share of this amount should be refunded from the Imperial Exchequer, and similarly for the cost of the Burmese War.

Since putting in my statements I have obtained further figures showing the amounts spent from Indian revenues upon military operations beyond the frontiers of India. Colonel H. B. Hanna, in book No. 3. "Backwards or Forwards," gives at page 40 a table, and makes the total about Rs. 7,14,500,000, out of which the British Exchequer paid about £5,000,000, towards the expenses of the Afghan War. Besides this amount, he points out several omissions. I may put in this table, with his remarks thereon, in Chapter III.

The principle I approve is that which was declared by the Duke of Devonshire, who said: "If the country is to be better govefned, that can only be done by the employment of the best and most intelligent of the natives in the Service: and as pointed out by Sir W. W. Hunter, "If we are to govern the people of India efficiently and cheaply, we must govern them by means of themselves, and pay for the administration at the market rates of native labour." An administration conducted on these principles will stop the material political and intellectual drain from India.

In the case of the Mysore State this method was adopted by Lord Salisbury and Iddesleigh, "as a guarantee for the good government of the people, and for the security of British rights and interest." This experiment, though disapproved by the Anglo-Indian authorities, was loyally and effectively carried out by them, and proved a brilliant success resulting in a contented people, a full treasury, moral and material progress, and attachment to British supremacy. It is a brilliant episode in British Indian History.

Similary, British India will be prosperous and contented if the same principles are followed, local administ-

ration being entrusted to competent native officials under European control co-operating with representative assemblies.

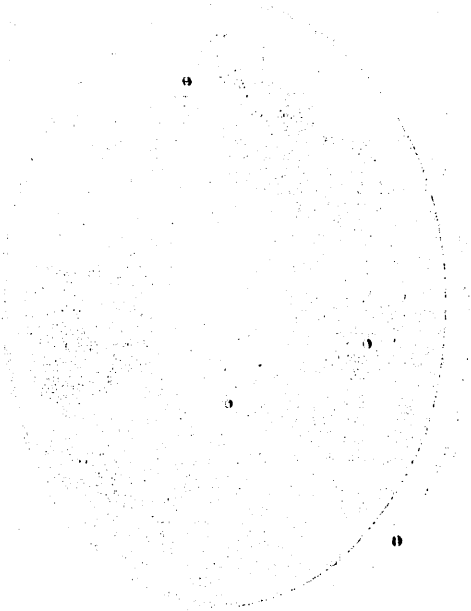
I gladly recognise the benefits of British rule, especially as regards law and order, education, and freedom of the press and public meetings; but I believe that British power and influence are much weakened by the refusal to administer expenditure in a way so as to give the people justice and a voice in their own affairs, by the consequent "extreme poverty" of the masses, and by the non-fulfilment of the solemn pledges, given by Parliament and the Crown, of equal opportunity in the public service to all subjects of Her Majesty; and sincerely desire to see British rule strengthened on the lines most beneficial to the people, both of India and of Britain.

I desire to put in my correspondence with the War Office, the Admiralty, and the Civil Service Commissioners. In this I claim that neither the War Office nor the Admiralty had any authority or power to exclude Indians from the commissioned ranks.

FAILURE TO GET INTO PARLIAMENT

In 1895 the Liberals had to resign, and the General Election which followed placed their opponents in power. Mr. Naoroji failed to get into Parliament owing to the unpopularity of the party with whom he had identified himself. Mr. Naoroji, however was by no means depressed by his defeat, as will be seen from the message he sent to his countrymen through the columns of the *India* newspaper. We print the message in full below :—

I have had nearly half a century of varied public and private life—political, social, educational, commercial, administrative, etc.—and I have had, like every human effort, my successes and failures. But I have, I may say, never been either unduly elated by any success, or depressed by any failure. In such a general wreck of the Liberal party I have suffered as one of them. But the only policy upon which I have acted through life—the policy of "Go on, with patience and perseverance," whether successful or unsuccessful in any good cause—is the one upon which I shall act now as ever before. As long as I have the health and opportunity of serving my country, I shall continue to do so. This is the last work of my life, and I intend to go on with it. I mean, therefore, to try to get into the House of Commons again, as it is there that the battles of the grievances and necessary reforms of India and stability of the British Empire have to be fought. The good of India is the good of the British Empire. The Indian question is of far wider importance than merely the interests of India. It is the question of the very existence, stability and continuance of the British Empire. As my views on this great subject have been made public at various times, and will have to be expressed yet many a time more on suitable occasions, I need not repeat them here, beyond saying that vast and powerful forces are working and growing in India. If the statesmen of the day do not direct them to the promotion of the interests of the Empire, producing satisfaction and prosperity among the people, they cannot and should not expect that these forces will not go against the British rule and end in some disaster. My humble efforts have always been, and will continue to be, directed to avert this calamity as far as an individual's efforts can go. My countrymen in India need not be in any way discouraged by my defeat. The interest in Indian affairs has been gradually but surely (though slowly) increasing among the British people, and I shall always cherish the hope that the British people will some time see that their true interest consists in promoting the interests, contentment and prosperity of India, and not in persisting in the present unnatural policy which is gradually leading to the discontentment and continuous poverty of India.





DADABHAI NAOROJI

His defeat was regarded in India as almost a national calamity.

The *Times of India* wrote as follows about it :—

> We cannot regard without regret the widespread disappointment which Dadabhai's defeat has caused amongst his friends in this country. He was the exponent of opinions with which we are seldom in accord, for he looked at the British administration of India from a standpoint at which no one who dispassionately considered the requirements and the capabilities of the country could place himself. But we do not think that he ever seemed to his most resolute opponents as other than a straight-forward, sincere and disinterested champion of the views he had adopted.

Since he left India in 1887, Mr. Naoroji continued to stay in England till 1906 having practically made that country his 'home,' and was with his usual persistence working for the country of his birth. In 1896 he opened correspondence with the War Office and the Admiralty regarding the exclusion of natives of India from examinations for admission to the Army and the Navy, and though he did not succeed in getting either of these bodies to remove the exclusion, he was able to show that the rules on which it was based were contrary to the Queen's Proclamations of 1858 and 1887. In 1897 he gave evidence, as

already stated, before the Welby Commission on Indian Expenditure.

THE CURRENCY COMMITTEE

In 1898 he prepared and submitted two instructive statements to the Indian Currency Committee, which sat under the presidency of Sir Henry Fowler, to consider the question of the then proposed gold currency for India. The views set forth in these statements are summarised in the following extract from a letter of Mr. Naoroji published in the London *Times* of June 3, 1898:—

1. Fall or rise in exchange does not in itself (other circumstances being the same) matter in true international trade, which adjusts itself automatically to the requirements of exchange. I would illustrate this. I desire, for instance, to lay out £1,000 for sending a quantity of piecegoods to India. I calculate the price of the manufacturer, exchange, whatever it may be, 1sh,, 2sh, or 3sh. per rupee, freight, insurance, commission. etc., and see whether the price in India would pay me a fair profit. If I think it would, I enter into the transaction, sell my bill to an East India Bank, and take the usual commercial chances supply. etc., when the goods arrive in India. I give this illustration in its simplest form of the general character of commercial transactions between this country and India. There are variations of the methods of these transactions, but into them I do not enter at present to avoid confusion. The main principle is the same.

2. Closing the mints or introducing a gold standard does not, and cannot, save a single farthing to the Indian tax-payers in their remittances for "Home Charges" to this country. The reason is simple. Suppose

we take, roundly, £20,000,000 sterling in gold to be the amount of the "Home Charges." The Indian tax-payers have to send as much produce to this country as is necessary to buy £20,000,000 sterling not an ounce less, no matter whatever may be the rupee or whatever the standard—gold or silver—in India, England must receive £20,000,000 in gold.

3. Closing of the mints and thereby raising the true rupee, worth at present about 11*d.* in gold, to a false rupee to be worth about 16*d.* in gold, is a covert exaction of 45 per cent. more taxation (besides producing other effects which I do not mention) from the Indian tax-payers. The reason is again simple. Suppose a ryot has to pay Rs. 10 for land-tax. This rupee means a fixed quantity of silver stamped with the mint stamp, and is truly worth at present only about 11*d.* of gold. By closing the mints this rupee is forced up the worth of 16*d.* of gold and the ryot is compelled to find this high-priced false rupee of 16*d.* of gold or, in other words, to sell 45 per cent. more of his produce to get this false rupee, the Government thus getting 45 per cent. more taxation than it is entitled to, even according to its own "despotic" legislation.

4. The introduction of a gold standard while it will not save a single farthing or a single ounce of produce to the Indian taxpayer in his payment of "Home Charges," as explained above, will simply add more to his already existing grievous burdens and injure him in other ways (which I avoid mentioning here), to the extent of the heavy cost of the alteration.

I have thus put forth four simple clear propositions. It is necessary for your other correspondents to consider whether these propositions are true or not. If once these fundamental issues or promises are settled, further discussion will have a sound basis to go upon. At present the whole controversy is based upon the assumption that closing of mints or introduction of a gold standard will produce to the Indian tax-payers an enormous saving in their remittances for "Home charges." This, I say, is a mere fiction of the imagination and an unfortunate delusion.

PUBLICATION OF HIS BOOK

In 1902 Mr. Naoroji published his famous book with the significant title of *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*. The Book consists of a selection from his papers, contributions to periodicals, statements before Commissions and Committees and correspondence with official bodies on Indian questions. It may, perhaps, be regretted that Mr. Naoroji did not adopt the better method of revising these and stating his case in a compact essay with the necessary evidence and authorities. In its present form the book is much too expensive to be read through except by a few; but perhaps Mr. Naoroji's advancing age prohibited him from undertaking that laborious task. In any case, the book is a solid contribution to the literature on Indian questions, and is a storehouse of information on Indian Economics. Throughout its pages one finds Mr. Naoroji persistently making out that the great and gradually increasing poverty of India is due to the enormous annual drain of 30 millions sterling (more or less in the form of exports of produce) from

the country, *without a pie of return* that the present system of British administration involves, and that this can be remedied only by the substitution of Indians for the very large, and costly staff of Europeans now employed in the country, and by the exploitation of the country's resources by sons of the soil alone.

THE BURDEN OF THE BOOK

The following statement made by him years ago to the representative of a Paris journal, who interviewed him, may be regarded as summarising the political views contained in this book :—

The relations between England and India latterly have been most unhappy and most disastrous, particularly with regard to India's economic and material condition. On one side, one of the important advantages conferred on India by England is English education; the Indians are profoundly grateful to England for this fact—but in spite of other concessions of less importance the disadvantages greatly surpass the benefits conferred. At the very outset of the association of England with India, corruption and oppression were the principal characteristics of the rule and of the system which was adopted. When little by little this cynical corruption ceased, the system, nevertheless, was such that a considerable part of the public wealth of India was transferred from India to England. This calamity has not ceased to manifest itself to this day. What at first was only a tribute of one or two millions has become in the course of the last 150 years an annual drain of 30 million pounds sterling,

that is to say, a sum which no other country in the world could pay without being utterly impoverished and completely ruined. The evils from which the Indians suffer are made up of the following elements. To begin with, England, by pure despotism, carries off annually two hundred millions of rupees for payment under the head of salaries for Government officials, so that the wealth produced by the work of the people, so far from supplying their own needs, becomes the prey of men who are, so far as they are concerned, mere foreigners. Besides the loss of the wealth of their country the people are, in addition, excluded from public office in their own native land. All the important positions are, so to speak, inaccessible to them. Thus the Indians, as a result of this rapacious system, suffer the two-fold loss of wealth and of work. This system may be regarded as an incessant and unceasingly growing waste, due to foreign invasion. At this very time there are thousands who have been sent to India to get wealth from it, and all these people will return to their homes with what they take from the country. This increasing invasion of the Indians by the English has had for its result the increasing impoverishment of the mass of the Indian people. Consequently, millions of men perish by famine and epidemic disease, and a still larger number are insufficiently fed by reason of their poverty. Famines in India are not due to scarcity of food; they are due to lack of money, so little have the wretched Indians to live upon. The British system of administration further aggravates this disastrous result. The wealth drained from India returns to India in the form of British capital; but a much larger sum is taken away than that which comes back. This so-called British capital exploits afresh the mineral and vegetable resources of India, gold, coal, iron and other products; so that by this means under the form of profits, still more wealth is taken from the country. Altogether, if one includes the two hundred million rupees which the British Government begins by taking for the salaries and pensions of English Government officials as well as the profits from the exploitation of gold, coal and iron, the total sum carried away by England from India amounts every year to thirty millions, a

wastage so large and so ruinous that India finds herself reduced to the most extreme misery. All the former invasions taken together have not produced havoc comparable to that which the English subject us to in two or three years. In addition to this unmerciful drain which it inflicts on India, the British Government has further dealt with her in a humiliating manner. England has not wholly fulfilled one of her promises nor one of her solemn proclamations by which she undertook to treat the Indians as British subjects without knowing difference of race or of colour. To-day, after the most formal undertakings, England has not granted to the Indian the elementary right, known to all English citizens, of taxation by consent and of controlling expenditure. It is a system of pure despotism where taxation, like expenditure, is wholly at the discretion of our masters. The people are treated as slaves, and what is worse is that our masters are not of our country; the damage is all the greater, because when plunder is taken by men of the same country, the wealth remains at any rate in the country, and whatever may be the character of such a Government, the people profit by it at least to a certain extent. The most disastrous feature of British rule in India is that all that is wrested from India is definitely lost to its inhabitants, and consequently, the ills that England imposes on India are of the gravest possible kind. Macaulay was right when he said: "The heaviest yoke is that of the stranger." English statesmen themselves have often declared that this evil system produces terrible consequences for England herself. The English system so much praised, and (they say) so successful is really, therefore, a system of bleeding, and also a system of political insincerity, as Lord Salisbury himself has confessed.

HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS BRITISH RULE

The following extracts from the introduction to Mr. Dadabhai's famous book also deserve particular notice :—

The title of the book is *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India, i. e.,* the present system of Government is destructive and despotic to the Indians and un-British and suicidal to Britain. On the other hand, a truly British course can and will certainly be vastly beneficent both to Britain and India.

True British rule will vastly benefit both Britian and India. My whole object in all my writings is to impress upon the British people that instead of a diastrous explosion of the British Indian Empire, as must be the result of the present dishonourable un-British system of Government, there is a great and glorious future for Britian and India to an extent inconceivable at present if the British people will awaken to their duty, will be true to their British instincts of fair play and justice, and will insist upon the 'faithful and conscientious fulfilment' of all their great and solemn promises and pledges.

Mr. John Bright has truly said: The good of England must come through the channels of the good of India. There are but two modes of gaining anything by our connexion with India. The one is by plundering the people of India, and the other by trading with them. I prefer to do it by trading with them. But in order that England may become rich, by trading with India, India itself must become rich. Cannot British authorities see their way to such intelligent selfishness ?

CONGRESS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

In 1905 Mr. Naoroji attended the International Congress of Social Democrats held at Amsterdam as the representative of India. At this Congress Mr. Naoroji spoke on the resolution condemning the present system of British Government in India and produced a remarkable impression. In the words of one who was there, " Mr. Naoroji, notwithstanding

his eighty years, displayed throughout the Congress, a vigour of mind and body which men 30 years his junior might have envied. . . His voice rang clear and resonant from one end of the hall to the other. Never was there the slightest hesitation or weakness from first to last, as he laid the case for India calmly, moderately, with relentless logic."

APPRECIATIONS

Of Mr. Naoroji's activity since 1901 till he returned to India to preside over the Calcutta Congress in 1906 little more need be said than that, as in all the years before, he had been indefatigably and uninterruptedly working for his country's cause, addressing meetings and writing to periodicals on Indian questions. We need not refer to his keen disappointment of the defeat he sustained at the General Election in the year—to re-enter the House of Commons and serve his country there. India owes a great deal to him already, and, if for nothing else, she ought to be grateful to him for his persistent efforts to persuade the people of England and even optimistic Viceroys and Secretaries of State

to admit the great poverty of India. These efforts are beginning slowly to bear fruit and we have no doubt that, when the India of the future is completely moulded and shaped, Mr. Naoroji's share in the work will be found to have been quite invaluable. His work was throughout unselfish, incessant and unostentatious. The main spring of all his labours was his great faith in British justice, and though he was now and again found fault with for the vehemence of his language, there is not the faintest trace of *lese majeste* in his writings or speeches. On the other hand, as the late Mr. Justice Ranade said, the basis on which Mr. Naoroji always laboured was "that the people of his country should come to regard the existence and continuance of British dominion in this part of Asia to be an unquestionable fact." Mr. Naoroji was in fact as Mr. Gokhale described him, "one of the greatest men in the world" or, as an old Bombay journalist of experience and knowledge said, "one in a million;" and if he had sometimes used bitter language, it was because the situation required

it. With "its sweet purity, its simplicity, its lofty patriotism, its abounding love, its strenuous pursuit of high aims," Mr. Naoroji's life was one which every Indian might well try to follow. It was throughout a life of strenuous energy, sacrifice for the Motherland for over sixty years, and "if only our young men will realise this in their lives, even partially, however dark the outlook at times may appear, the future is bound to be full of hope."

THE CALCUTTA CONGRESS

Never was the outlook in India darker or more depressing than at the close of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty. The volume of indignation against the high-handedness of the Bureaucracy was gathering in strength, as each succeeding year witnessed fresh troubles more dire and dangerous still. While the country was generally grateful to Lord Minto for his sympathetic handling of Indian aspirations, a sullen and resentful spirit was already in the air which gathered momentum with each piece of repressive legislation. A body of well-meaning but high spirited men who had lost faith

in the beneficent intentions of the British Raj openly denounced the policy of what they called "mendicancy," which the elder men of the Congress were supposed to follow. Distrusting the good intentions of the Government, they repudiated equally the apostles of constitutional agitation on time-honoured lines, and questioned the very utility of the Congress organisation as it was conducted. The house was thus divided against itself, and every ill-conceived action of the bureaucracy added to the strength of the new party; and the moderates, helpless, reviled and misunderstood, remained at the parting of ways trying to reconcile those who seemed irreconcilable. At such a crisis who could save the country from its paroxysm of despair? Who could assuage the angry passions of the people at such a juncture? It was indeed an act of foresight which invited Mr. Dadabhai to preside over the Calcutta Congress in December 1906. As the well-informed writer of "Current Events" pointed out in the succeeding January (1907) number of the *Indian Review*:—

The Presidentship of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, as was anticipated, smoothed all differences of opinion. His firmness, combined with his tolerance for all shades of opinion, and his great suavity, contributed largely towards a satisfactory solution of the differences. No doubt, with a Congress reflecting a variety of opinions on subjects of a controversial character, perfect unanimity was not expected. But the sweet reasonableness of the President had its reflex influence on the conflicting parties. A spirit of compromise actuated them to settle their differences and arrive at a fairly good solution of the Boycott Resolution, which was the only one on which so many words were wasted and on which so much of passion and prejudice were absurdly aroused. However, those who had striven their utmost outside the camp of the Congress to see it wrecked were greatly disconcerted. The Congress session closed both in peace and harmony, instead of in splits and dissensions as was so wistfully looked for by its non-friends and adversaries. It was in reality a great success. If a section of the delegates differed, they differed to agree, and, what is more, to unite in greater strength to work out the national salvation than before. The President imparted to them all his own undying spirit of perseverance and patience. He adjured them never to despair. Having himself refused to despair and to hope against all odds, he asked the delegates to be of good cheer. . . . The time he said was not one of despair, but of patience, preseverance and united agitation coupled with hopefulness. Thus, under the inspiriting and encouraging words of the venerable President, the Congress rose equal to the occasion and may now be said to be every way stronger and more fortified than ever for purposes of constitutional agitation, and the realisation of the legitimate ambitions and aspirations of the country. . . . Peace and unity have been restored, and Heaven favouring her cause, India and her people are bound to obtain within a measurable distance further privileges and rights as free citizens of freedom-loving Great Britian. At the call of duty, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji came here. That he discharged that duty nobly and most satisfactorily goes without

saying. India rejoiced in his advent and bade him a cordial and enthusiastic reception unparalleled in her annals.

Mr. Dadabhai's Presidential Address was marked by the sweet reasonableness so characteristic of all his utterances. The grand old man, weighed down with half a century of service to the Motherland, pleaded for union and brought hope to the country. With the wisdom and experience gathered at home and abroad, he made the "most resonant and the most determined demand for Self-Government," or Swaraj, a word which has since become the watchword of the Indian nation. Never was a leader more inspired with true knowledge of his countrymen than when Dadabhai pronounced, in clear and unmistakable accents, the ideal which his countrymen should set before themselves. And he was truly inspired indeed when he used that historic word "Swaraj" to describe and define the national demand for freedom and self-Government. Mr. Naoroji confined his address primarily to the consideration of India's position in the Empire and the right of Indians for equal citizenship under the ægis

of the British Crown. He had abundant faith in the Liberalism of Lord Morley and his school and little doubted its capacity to justify itself in the solution of the Indian problem. Quoting a number of Liberal declarations in regard to the position of British Indian citizenship from Proclamations, Acts of Parliament and the utterances of responsible ministers, he concluded his luminous address with the great call :—

> I do not know what good fortune may be in store for me during the short period that may be left to me, and if I can leave a word of affection and devotion for my country and countrymen I say, be united, persevere, and achieve self-government so that the millions now perishing by poverty, famine and plague, and the scores of millions that are starving on scanty subsistence may be saved, and India may once more occupy her proud position of yore among the greatest and most civilized nations of the world.

How earnestly and devotedly his countrymen have followed his great appeal is a matter of recent history.

CONGRESS AND BIRTHDAY MESSAGES

During the last twelve years of his life Mr. Dadabhai, old and feeble in health, but with a mind and will unimpaired by the infirmity of age, was living in seclusion in his delightful home at Versova, nursed by his

devoted grand-daughters. Keenly interested as ever in contemporary happenings, though unable to participate directly in all the manifold activities of the time, Mr. Naoroji confined himself to giving advice to his countrymen from time to time on matters of high concern. Groups of Indian patriots nurtured under his sympathetic guidance now and again made "pilgrimages" to his "abode" to receive the blessings of the great patriarch. Pure of heart and gentle in demeanour, the grand old man helped to harmonise differences and enthuse his fellow-countrymen to ever-increasing devotion to the Motherland. Year after year his message to the Congress had been a welcome feature of that institution: and the Congress in turn was passing congratulatory resolutions on his sturdy and indefatigable labours on behalf of his countrymen. But no announcement was more gratifying than the annual birthday messages of Dadabhai Naoroji in response to the numerous congratulations, that poured from all parts of the Empire on the fourth of September. These messages generally dealt

with the leading events of the year, and a word of exhortation from the great leader often inspired the most halting amongst the ranks to acts of service and sacrifice. Touching the position of our countrymen in South Africa, he pointed out in his message on his 89th birthday in 1912 :

Once again the situation of our countrymen in the colonies and particularly in South Africa stirs us with deep emotion. They have suffered long and suffered much and have so borne their misfortune as to entitle them to the better regard and protection of His Majesty's Government. I have viewed with deep concern the indifference of the Imperial Government in regard to the recent Act in South Africa. But I still hope for justice and action.

THE WAR AND MR. NAOROJI'S MESSAGE

On the outbreak of the Great War in Europe, in August 1914, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, as the acknowledged leader of the Indian nation, addressed a letter to the Indian public pointing out the supreme duty of his countrymen at such a crisis. After an expression of sympathy in the sad bereavement of His Excellency the Viceroy, caused by the death of Lady Hardinge, the venerable patriarch continued :—

What calamity to the world is at present happening ? War in Europe. What is an Indian's place in

it? We are a people of the British Empire. Let us see what our duty and position are. If ever India expects to attain again the former glory on the advanced character and scale of the modern British civilisation, of liberty, humanity, justice and all that is good, great and divine, it shall be at the hands of the British people and as self-governing members of the British Empire. We are all British citizens of the great British Empire and that is at present our greatest pride. * * *

I have all my life been more of a critic than a simple praiser of the British rule in India, and I have not hesitated to say some hard things at times. I can, therefore, speak with the most perfect candour and sincerity what the British character is, what the civilisation of the world owes to the British people for benefits in the past, as well as for benefits to come. Yes, I have not the least doubt in my mind that every individual of the vast mass of humanity of India will have but one desire in his heart viz., to support to the best of his ability and power the British people in their glorious struggle for justice, liberty, honour and true humane greatness and happiness.

The Princes and the peoples of India have made already spontaneous efforts and, until the victorious end of this great struggle, no other thought than that of supporting whole-heartedly the British Nation should enter the mind of India.

The 91st birthday of Dadabhai Naoroji was celebrated with befitting enthusiasm all over India. Among the countless messages that were pouring in at Versova, on the morning of Saturday the 4th September 1915, was one from His Excellency Lord Hardinge who wired :—

I send you warm congratulation and heartiest good wishes on your 91st birthday, and hope that your life

may be prolonged for many years as a bright and enduring example to others.

Mr. Naoroji sent the following reply :—

I am deeply touched with your warm congratulations and heartiest good wishes on my 91st birthday, and thank you sincerely and heartily for the same. I hope this world's strife will terminate soon and successfully. I am sure that India will continue its devotion and loyalty to our Sovereign and will receive justice and equality of citizenship with other parts of the Empire.

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay also sent a congratulatory message. In reply to the numerous greetings from the Press and platform, Mr. Naoroji sent the following epistle :—

I have been overwhelmed with congratulations and good wishes from friends and admirers in various parts, and I take this opportunity to thank them most heartily, as also all the numerous public bodies who held congratulatory meetings in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and other centres in connection with my 91st birthday.

Times are critical and it behoves every unit of the vast population under British rule in India to give every loyal assistance in order that Victory, to the arms of the Allies who are fighting the battle of freedom and in the cause of humanity, may be assured at an early date.

England by her undaunted courage and unity of action has maintained her place among the nations, and has set an example to the world, and all India must feel, as I do feel, intense satisfaction for her ultimate success in the near future.

There was, besides, a special feature in regard to 91st birthday greetings. A

deputation of ladies of Bombay waited upon Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji at his residence on the morning of the 4th September. The deputation was a fairly representative one, consisting of Hindu, Moslem and Parsi ladies. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the gifted poetess from Hyderabad, addressed the G. O. M. in a graceful speech. Mrs. Jamnabhai Sakhai, of the Gujarati Streemandal, read an address congratulating Mr. Dadabhai on the auspicious event. In the course of his reply, Mr. Naoroji touched appropriately on the memorial to the Rt. Hon. Mr. Austen Chamberlain on the education of the girls and the women of India, and observed :—

I am glad my good friend Sir William Wedderburn and many others are presenting a memorial to Mr. Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for India, on the subject of the education of girls and women in India. Let India support this movement whole-heartedly and I have great hopes that something substantial will be done to accelerate the progress of female education in India. Let the result of this be what it may; it is we the people of India, who must do all what we can for this all-important matter.

In fact, Mr. Naoroji's tender and loyal championship of women and women's education is but one aspect of a life of what Mrs. Sarojini

Naidu so aptly called, "one long and noble consecration to the Motherland."

DADABHAI'S LIBRARY

Soon after this, Mr. Naoroji made a valuable gift of his library to the Bombay Presidency Association. The books included cupboards full of Hansards' volumes for over one hundred years. There were also full reports of all the proceedings of Parliamentary Committees and Select Committees relating to India during the past hundred years. Mr. Naoroji's avidity for figures and statistics is well-known and it was his desire in presenting the volumes to the public to create the same interest for the statistical information and accurate knowledge of all questions, among the rising generation of political workers in the country.

THE BOMBAY UNIVERSITY

In an earlier part of the sketch we have referred to Mr. Dadabhai's educational efforts on behalf of his countrymen. Himself the flower of English education, Mr. Naoroji was all his life the champion of a wider diffusion of education among the masses of the Indian people. His journalistic and political services

in England and India, and his great educational work in the early stage of his career in Bombay alike point to the value he attached to this aspect of his labours. In February, 1916, when he was past four score and ten, the Bombay University appropriately conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws at a special Convocation of the University, presided over by His Excellency Lord Willingdon, as Chancellor. The Vice-Chancellor, the Rev. Dr. Mackichan, in presenting Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji to the Chancellor, made a speech in which he warmly recounted Mr. Dadabhai's claims to the distinction. Never was a University more honoured than by the admission of such a distinguished alumnus to the roll of its savants.

In the evening of his life, he had the satisfaction to see that some of the reforms for which he yearned were nearing accomplishment, and he continued to exhort his countrymen to put their faith in the liberty-loving instincts of the British people and their innate sense of justice. In his seclusion at Versova he continued to follow the trend of political and

social events in India with intense zest, and he was in constant touch with leading public men who visited him in his place from time to time.

MR. DADABHAI'S COLLEAGUES

Mr. Dadabhai, in his ripe old age of ninety-two, lived in complete retirement at Versova. Only once in his last twelve years did he come to Bombay to receive the tribute of the University. The serene satisfaction of one's duty well done was his, as well as the wealth of peace and good cheer that accompanies such a noble life. But the Gods are jealous and the penalty of longevity is inexorable. It was at once pathetic and uplifting to the patriarch resignedly bowing to the will of Heaven. Those that had laboured with him, and shared the pains as well as the joys of his struggles throughout a life-time were dropping one by one like the autumnal leaves. His colleagues in England, notably his life-long friend and fellow worker in the cause of India, Sir William Wedderburn, kept up a constant correspondence with him. But the death of A. O. Hume, his staunchest friend

on the British Congress Committee, made him feel solitary. He bore it with fortitude. Here, in India, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Sir Pherozesha Mehta had gone to their last resting-place, and before them a galaxy of Congressmen of an earlier generation, who had served him as his Lieutenants and followers.

THE END

His own end was nearing and he was looking forward to it with meek resignation. On the morning of June 1, 1917, a painful message that he was dangerously ill cast a gloom all over the country. But a later telegram in the afternoon gave the country the glad news that he was out of danger. But life at ninety-three is at best precarious and Dadabhai's countrymen had to prepare themselves for the inevitable. Dadabhai was removed on the 2nd June to Bombay for securing the best medical advice and treatment which, however, proved of no avail. And the end was feared at any moment. He was fast losing strength and he passed away peacefully on the evening of June 30. He died in the bosom of his family, surrounded by his daughters and grand

children. He retained full consciousness until the last half an hour of his life, and we are told that his death was quite painless, his features retaining their saintly look even after death.

Suffering from extreme weakness, he could talk very little during the last four days of his illness, but even on his deathbed he showed his deep and abiding interest in public affairs by insisting upon being kept informed of important happenings in the world, and specially in his own country which he so passionately loved. His son-in-law, Mr. Dadina, and his grandchildren read out to him the most important news from the papers. He heard with visible emotion the news of the death of his old friend Sir George Birdwood.

The funeral took place the next day when impressive scenes were witnessed at the Palitana House where Dr. Naoroji passed the last few days of his life and at the Tower of Silence, where his body found its last resting place. Over fifteen thousand people, of all nationalities, followed the procession to the Tower, and among the leading members of different communities were Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Sir Dinsha Wacha, Sir Shapurji Broacha, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Hon. (now the Rt. Hon.) Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. K. Natarajan, Mr. Tilak, Mr. Jinnah and others. When the funeral

party was returning from the Tower, Sir Narayan, asked to say a few words, paid the last tribute to the memory of the departed. He said in the course of his speech :—

"It is no exaggeration to say, it is not marring the beauty of the religion to say that he was a second Zoroaster sent to India to make the sun of righteousness and of India's future progress shine more and more by means of our pure thoughts, our pure speech and our pure deeds. Countrymen, not only the Parsis, but men of all races regarded Dadabhai as their own. He went into the bosom of us all. His death is the greatest loss to us at the greatest time. And yet he is not dead. The sun, that shone just ninety-three years ago over India, is set, but, I say, it is set to rise again in the form of regenerated India, for Dahabhai lived and worked for us with a self-devotion which must remain for all of us an inspiring example. Let us, therefore, before we depart, pledge ourselves that we will live by the light of his example, pure in all that we do, sacrificing ourselves for the sake of India, full of devotion and that marvellous patience which was the best adornment of Dadabhai's great and sacred and worshipful life.

The residence of Dr. Naoroji was flooded with letters and telegrams and the following letter addressed to Sir Dinshaw Wacha by H. E. Lord Willingdon, then Governor of Bombay, may here be transcribed :—

"Would you convey my deepest sympathy with the family, and would you further inform them that it has been a matter of a very great concern to me that I had no representative at the funeral, for I was most anxious to pay my last tribute of respect as Governor to our great citizen, but I heard nothing of Mr.

Dadabhai's death till Sunday afternoon, and then it was too late.

MEMORIALS

Babu Surendranath Banerjee unveiled a portrait of Dadabhai at the University Hall, Bombay. Numerous Reading Rooms and clubs were started to perpetuate his illustrious name. The Parsees themselves canonised his name as one fit to adorn the Zoroastrian Calendar.

But the national memorial of the great patriot took the form of a striking statue which was erected ten years after his death. This statue in bronze which was erected on the most commanding and centrally situated spot in Bombay was unveiled by His Excellency the Governor Sir Leslie Wilson on the 1st Feb. 1927. A large and distinguished gathering was present on the occasion to pay its tribute of reverence to the memory of the departed leader. Both the Governor and Sir Dinshaw Wacha, the Chairman of the Memorial Committee, spoke in terms of the highest respect and admiration of one "who was a truly great man, who took no thought

of aught save right and truth," and whose life might be said to be " an epitome of the history of Indian constitutional reform during the second half of the nineteenth century."

Having unveiled the statue, His Excellency Sir Leslie Wilson observed :

> This statue, which I have just unveiled will be, for all time, a reminder to this, and future generations, of one of Bombay's most loyal citizens, of one of India's greatest friends, and of a man whose life-work and self-sacrifice will, I trust, be an example to be followed not only by the many thousands who daily pass by this spot, but by all those who have the real welfare of their country at heart.

The statue is in seated posture and bears an admirable likeness to the Indian patriot. It was executed by the well-known Bombay sculptor, Mr. Talim, to whom Sir Dinshaw took the occasion to express the Memorial Committee's grateful thanks for his splendid workmanship.

THE INSCRIPTION

The inscription on the front panel of the pedestal runs thus ;

DADABHAI NAOROJI
First Indian Member of Parliament 1892 to 1895.
Revered and Beloved of the Country
The Grand Old Man of India.
Born 4th September 1825.
Died 30th June 1917.

One of the side panels depicts a scene of the House of Commons in session with Gladstone addressing the House and Dadabhai and other great Parliamentarians of the time occupying the front benches. The other side is emblematic of Dadabhai's work on behalf of female education. The great social reformer is depicted leading the way to a house of learning to a group of Indian women and girls, the inscription on it being: "Mothers really build nations."

THE MESSAGE OF HIS LIFE

Public bodies all over the country recorded their appreciation of the great services Dadabhai had rendered to the country. The Bombay Presidency Association at the instance of Sir Dinshaw Wacha made the following comment on his seventy years of strenuous public life:—

> By universal consent he has been acclaimed as the Father of Indian Politics and Economics and also the ideal "Swaraj" or Self-Government for India within the Empire. He actively instilled in his countrymen, by force of his own sublime example, the spirit of patriotism pure and undefiled and distinguished himself as an ideal patriot who was loved and revered throughout his life by his countrymen.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was a unique personality, a power and an influence for good, a man of unexampled courage and perseverance, of great simplicity, of spotless life, of good words, good thoughts and good deeds, a stern devotee of duty and a loyal and faithful subject of His Majesty. As such, he will be an inspiration to his countrymen for all times and generations to come.

As to Mr. Dadabhai's personality, we would here quote some of the lofty and eloquent sentiments expressed by the late Sir Narayen Chandavarkar at the Memorial Meeting. He asked:

"What constituted the elements of grandeur in Mr. Dadabhai's life? The Grand Old Man is like the grand old style. He announces and commands. He lives and speaks with the prophetic mind, takes large and long views of history and provoking thoughts, irritating people's consciences, becomes the Conscience of his country. Such was Dadabhai to the end of his life.

His life, his writings, his speeches read like the lives and books of some of the Hebrew prophets, speaking straight from the heart with one refrain, the refrain of Righteousness. They form the political Bible of India. What forms the crowning beauty of his career is that Dadabhai's private life moves faithfully on the same high plane as his public life. He drew the human and broad spirit of his patriotism from his pure domesticities. That makes him, after Raja Ram Mohun Roy, the modern Saint of India. The perfect Saint is he who is a perfect citizen."

Sir Dinshaw Wacha who made a feeling speech on the occasion referred to the beneficent and vivifying influence of Dadabhai. "There is no doubt", he said,

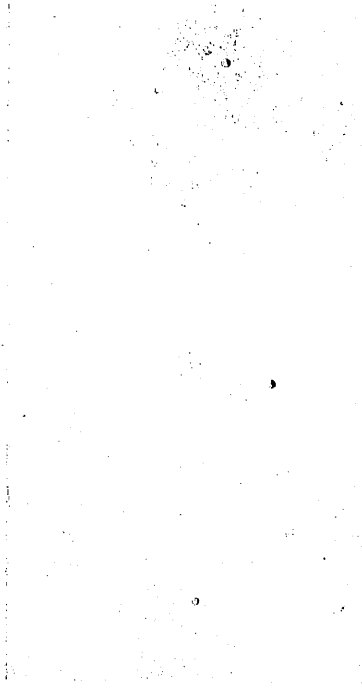
"that by his death a towering light is extinguished that burned from the beginning to the end with serenity and steadiness, shedding its beneficent radiance, and spreading its vivifying influence on every nook and corner of the country. A prim personification of Patience and Perseverance, of Righteousness and justice, Mr. Dadabhai was a noble example to all, those far and near who came under his magnetic influence. He was a great thinker as much as a man of action. He wrote and spoke with energy of earnest conviction which had the effect of sending his words straight home. Never rhetorical, his speeches flowed charmingly like a pure limpid stream without a bubble or a ripple on its surface. A devoted friend of reasoned Freedom, he always expressed himself with a sobriety of thought and a balanced judgment. There never was in the van of the old Liberal Guard a standard-bearer of his fearless courge and splendid inspiration. And he served his country with a sacrfice and singleness of purpose which it may be rightly said, without exaggeration, was rare. A devout follower of Zoroaster, he faithfully followed the ethics of that great prophet—pure in thought, word and deed."

Yet another memorial was the handsome bust of Dadabhai erected by public subscription by the citizens of Madras,—the bust executed by the well-known Bombay artist Mr. Waugh, which adorns the Convocation Hall of the University of Madras.

CONCLUSION

Dadabhai's life is full of lessons for us. Let us then

" remember all
He spoke among us; and the Man who spoke;
Who never sold the truth to serve the hour,
Nor paltered with eternal God for power;
Who let the turbid streams of rumour flow
Thro' either babbling world of high and low;
Whose life was work, whose language rife
With rugged maxims hewn from life;
Who never spoke against a foe;
Whose ninety winters freeze with one rebuke
All great self-seekers trampling on the right."





K. R. CAMA

K. R. CAMA*

THE late Mr. Kharshedji Rustamji Cama, who, for his learning and character, was called by the late Prof. James Darmesteter of Paris, "le Dastur laique" (the layman Dastur), was one of the best types of silent but eloquent monitors. Mr. Cama was a man who, in his long and beneficent career of 78 years, lived, what may be truly described as a full life. Mr. S. M. Edwardes, very properly says: "The life-history of Kharshedji Cama. . . . is in great measure a tale (*a*) of the growth of religious and social reform among the Parsees of Western India and (*b*) of the gradual application of the scholarly and scientific methods of research of the study of the ancient languages, literature, and religion of Iran." The following sketch will tell the tale of both these aspects.

* Considerably condensed from a sketch prepared by Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi.

ANCESTRY

Mr. Cama's ancestors, who hailed from Tena, a village near Surat, and who were hardworking, honest and charitable, must have given some good traits of character to Mr. Cama. His family received its name from Cama Kuverji, who came to Bombay from Tena in 1735 in the company of Lovji Nusserwanji Wadia (1710-1774), the founder of the well-known Parsee family of ship-builders in Bombay. The family had commerce for its business.

BIRTH

Mr. Cama was born in Bombay on the 11th day (roz Khurshed) of the 3rd month (mah Khordad kadimi) of the Parsee Yazdazard; year 1201 i. e., on 11th November 1831. It seems that he was named Kharshedji, because he was born on the day Khurshed.

EARLY MARRIAGE

Cama was married at the age of 8, in 1839, with Awabai, his uncle's daughter. The Parsees generally continued in the last century and still continue to some extent, the old

Iranian custom of marriage among relatives. Nowadays, we speak of Love begetting Union but, in those days, Union begot Love, and Cama's marriage was happy. Two sons were the fruits of the marriage. Cama's wife Awabai died in 1863. He married again in 1865 one Aimae, daughter of Mr. Manockji Cursetji Shroff. Four daughters and three sons were the fruits of this marriage.

EARLY EDUCATION

Cama was left an orphan at the early age of 8, his father having died in 1839 at the very young age of 29. It is said that his father was not enjoying good health, and so, one of the reasons of expediting the marriage of his children—Cama and his sister Bhikhaiji—was, that he might see the marriage of his children and have some satisfaction of seeing his children settled in married life in his own life-time. Under this circumstance—of his father's early death—Cama's education was looked after by his mother, who belonged to the well-known family of the Gazdars of Gamdevi and by his uncle. His education as a boy was, for some time, under Mr.

Rustamji Ruttonji Dadachanji, who conducted a school in the Fort, Bombay.

HIGHER EDUCATION

After finishing his early education as a boy, he joined the Elphinstone Institution which had then two departments—the school and the college departments. He won for two years the West scholarship. The winning of West, Clare and other scholarships in those times was like winning honours in our time. He left the Elphinstone Institution in 1849, when he was 18.

VISIT TO CALCUTTA

On leaving College, Cama like his father and uncles, took to trade and went, at first, to Calcutta, as an apprentice in the mercantile firm of his relative Dadabhoy Hormasji Cama. There were no railways in India at the time, and so, he went by sea *via* Colombo. His ship met with a great storm in the Bay of Bengal and was disabled, and he and other passengers and crew were saved just in time by a passing vessel.

VISIT TO CHINA

After staying at Calcutta for a few months, he went to China to join the Canton firm of his uncle Ruttonji. He carried on business in China for four years and returned to Bombay in 1854.

VISIT TO GREAT BRITAIN

Mr. Cama then went to England in 1855 in the company of Mr. Muncherjee Hormanji Cama and Mr. (then known as Professor) Dadabhoy Nowroji, the Grand Old Man of India. They founded in London and Liverpool a mercantile firm under the name of Messrs Cama & Co. This is said to have been the first Indian firm in England. It seems that both Cama and Dadabhoy Nowroji, were not very successful as merchants. Their success in life seems to have been destined in other directions—that of Cama in Oriental learning, that of Dadabhoy Nowroji in Politics.

HIS PARTNER MR. DADABHOY NOWROJI

Though Cama and Dadabhoy Nowroji dissolved their partnership in commerce, they formed a new partnership, or, rather continued

partnership in the cause of the progress of their community. Both worked hand in hand as members of a kind of League whose watchword was Progress. The *Rast-Goftér* was their organ for the cause of Progress.

HIS OTHER PARTNER MUNCHERJI CAMA

Kharshedji Cama, though he dissolved, as said above, his partnership in commerce with Dadabhoy Nowroji, continued, as it were, partnership in the field of working for progress. But that was not so in the case of his other partner Muncherji Cama, who was a relative also. In public life, as leaders of their community, both stood at opposite ends. Kharshedji Cama was one of those who led the vanguard of Réform, Muncherji Cama headed the opposite camp. Kharshedji Cama wrote in the *Rast Gôfter*. Muncherji Cama wrote in the *Suryodae* and, later on, in the *Jam-i-Jamshed*. But both did good service to their community in the spread of the knowledge of their religious lore. Kharshedji Cama did that service on a large scale and directly and personally by learning Iranian languages by teaching them. Muncherji Cama did that

service indirectly, by getting translated into English by Mr. Bleeck, the German translation of the Avesta by Dr. Spiegel and by publishing the translation. This English translation familiarized the rising generation of the Parsees with the contents of their Scriptures.

CAMA AND QUEEN VICTORIA

Mr. Cama described an incident of his visit to England at a public meeting of the Parsees, convened to vote an address to Her Majesty, the late Queen Victoria, on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of her accession to the throne. Cama visited Scotland in the company of Mr. Dosabhai Framji Karaka and Her Majesty was at Balmoral at the time. These young Parsees desired to have a look at Her Gracious Majesty. They had stayed at an inn at Balater, a village about 9 miles from Balmoral Castle. They inquired of their host as to where and how they could have a look at their queen and were told that they could see her on Sunday at the Church. Their Parsee dress and their Indian mode of salaaming drew the attention of Her Majesty. She sent

an Aide-de-Camp to inquire as to who they were. They told the Aide-de-Camp that they were Parsees. The Parsees were a little talked of at the time, because the first Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy had received at the time, at first, a Knighthood and then a Baronetcy. This was the first time that an Indian gentleman was so honoured. Her Majesty on learning who they were, sent back the Aide-de-Camp to them to invite them to see her Balmoral palace. Cama and his friends were overjoyed. They went the next day and were shown the Palace and the grounds, and, when about to leave, were asked to have refreshment before they left.

CAMA AS A GUEST OF ELPHINSTONE

During his stay in England, Cama was for some time the guest of Mountstuart Elphinstone, at the Institution in whose honour, he had intellectual meals and drinks. Mr. Edwardes well says: "One can well understand the pleasure which the ex-Governor must have felt at the opportunity thus afforded to him of discussing Bombay problems with one of the most intellectual and studious

alumni of the College founded in his honour." It seems that it was this closer contact with Elphinstone that led Cama, on his return to Bombay, to take an active part in the movement to commemorate Elphinstone's name on his death in 1859.

STUDIES IN EUROPE

On his return journey from England, Cama stayed for some time on the Continent for study. He first went to France and then to Germany and took lessons on Iranian subjects with the learned Professors of these countries. He also studied French and German and translated from the works of some of the European scholars, especially from the work of Dr. Rapp of Germany.

PROF. JULES OPPERT

In Paris, he took lesson with Prof. Jules Opert whose special subject was the Cuneiform Inscriptions. Oppert has published some works on Iranian subjects.

M. MOHL

He took lessons in Persian from Prof. Mohl, the well known Editor and Translator of Firdousi's Shah-Nameh (Livre des Rois) in

seven large beautiful volumes under the patronage of Napoleon III. Max-Muller very properly mentioned that M. Mohl's edition *de luxe* of the Shah Nameh was so costly (about Rs. 500), that those who wanted to study could not afford to buy it and those rich people who could afford to buy it were not capable of reading it.

PROF. CHARLE

Cama learnt the Iranian language with a view to study Iranian religion from the original. So, he took an interest in Religion in general, and, therefore, attended, in Paris, the lectures of Prof. Charle on Religion.

VISIT TO THE MONASTERY OF CHARTREUSE

In order to study the religious life of the monasteries, he visited the celebrated monastery of Chartreuse in France, a monastery whose strict rules and regulations, including those of abstaining from animal food and observing complete silence for certain days of the week, and whose height of 4,200 ft, with very difficult pathways to approach it remind one of some of the Tibetan monasteries round Darjeeling.

CAMA AND OTHER SCHOLARS OF PARIS

Besides taking lessons from savants like Mohl, Oppert, and Charle, Cama came into contact with other scholars like Burnouf, Bopp and Menant. Burnouf, the author of the monumental work, " Commentaire Sur le Yasna " and Bopp, the author of the " Vergleichene Grammatik," (Comparative Grammar,) were made known to the learned world of Bombay by European scholars of Bombay on the platform of the B. B. R. A. Society. It was the researches of Burnouf, an Honorary member of the B. B. R. A. Society, that had led William Erskine of Bombay, the very first Secretary of the B. B. R. A. Society to modify his crude views about the Avesta.

Bopp had made his name known to the learned world, Indian and Iranian, by the publication of his Comparative Grammar. The common parentage of the Arian or Indo-European languages was known ere this, but Bopp pointed out the common origin even of the grammatic forms. It was Cama's appreciation of Bopp's work that led him, on his return to Bombay, to collect subscriptions from

the Parsees of Bombay for Bopp's Memorial Fund for which Cama corresponded with Prof. Weber.

M. Joachim Menant, the author of La Philosophie de Zoroastre, was another well-known scholar, with whom Mr. Cama had come into contact. He inspired with regard for the Parsees, not only him, but his daughter Mademoiselle Menant, the author of "Les Parsis," then a mere child.

PROF. SPIEGEL

From France, Cama went to Germany, where he stayed for some time and studied German. He went to Erlangen, and took lessons from Prof. Spiegel who was the very first translator of the complete text of the Avesta in an European language.

CAMA'S STAY AND STUDY IN EUROPE

Cama's stay in France and Germany for the study of Iranian languages was a very important event, not only for himself, but also for the community. Mr. Sheriarji Dadabhoy Bharucha, his very first pupil said :

The study of the time-hallowed religion of Zoroaster, of the customs, traditions, and history of the Parsi community, and of the languages in which they are

written, was formerly confined, according to ancient usage, to the Magi or the Parsee priests only. During the second half of the eighteenth century, the famous French *savant* M. Anquetil du Perron, brought Zoroastrain literature to the knowledge of Western scholars. Since then the science of comparative philology has continued to throw considerable light upon the literary materials carried by Anquetil and others to Europe. But, among the Parsis themselves, the study of their scriptures was very important.....It seems to have been reserved by Providence for Mr. Cama to bring back from Europe the light of the new method brought into use in connection with the study of the Avesta and Pahlavi languages and of the Zoroastrian religion in general, by celebrated *savants* like Burnouf, Bopp, Spiegel, Haug, and others, and to offer an opportunity to his co-religionists by introducing among them a critical study of their sacred writings and of the religion, cherished by them dearer than life.

TRAVELS IN INDIA

In 1863, when Cama was about 32, he made a tour of India. Cama travelled in the company of the following gentlemen: (*a*) His relative Kharbedji Nusserwanji Cama, a benevolent person who was a true friend of the cause of education in Bombay; (*b*) Mr. Ardesir Framji Moos, the author of a Gujarati-English Dictionary, a man of scientific and literary attainments; (*c*) Dr. Bhau Daji, an antiquarian of the first rank, whose researches have brought honour to the B. B. R. A. Society; and (*d*) Prof. Rehatsek, a Hungarian scholar in our midst who led

a simple, perhaps one may say an eccentrically simple, life and enriched the Journals of the B. B. R. A. Society. The party travelled for about six months, though their original programme was not completed, because in the early days, when India had no Railways, they had to travel by horse carriages and bullock carts.

THE FIRST FRUITS OF CAMA'S STUDIES

Mr. Cama's literary activities, which he displayed on his return from Europe and which he carried on during his life, made him what he was. He was an exemplary man of character and versatility, worthy of being remembered; but, in spite of that, his life without his activities in the field of Iranian learning would have lost much of its glow and much of its 'go.' The following movements can be said to be the first fruits of his studies in Europe:

1. Opening a Class to teach Iranian languages.

2. Founding a Society for making researches in Iranian subjects.

3. Starting and editing a journal for placing before the public the result of new studies.

1. A CLASS FOR IRANIAN STUDIES

The very first fruit of his studies in Europe was his opening a class for instructing Parsee students in Iranian languages. It seems that Cama had, at first, no thought of teaching. He simply thought of continuing his studies, perhaps, as a side work to some other line of business as his whole-day work. But, just as Ervad Sheriarji Bharucha spoke of his having "been reserved by Providence" to bring to light the new method of study of Western scholars, so one may say, it was "reserved by Providence" for Mr. Sheriarji to induce Cama to stick more closely to his studies, not as a side work but as a whole-day affair. Mr. Cama himself has referred to this incident in one of his speeches: He said that

> One day in February 1861, there went to him, with a recommendatory note from his life-long friend Mr. Sohrabjee Shapurjee Bengalee, a young Mobad (priest), Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhoy Bharucha, and expressed his desire to learn Iranian languages under him. He at once consented and took the incident as an inspiration from God. His own studies being like a study of the first book, he himself learnt every day something to teach his pupil. The class begun with one pupil gradually grew into a class of more than a dozen.

2. A SOCIETY FOR IRANIAN RESEARCHES

The second fruit of Cama's Iranian studies in Europe was the founding of "the Jarthoshti din-ni khol karnari Mandli" (the Society for making researches in Zoroastrian religion) on 31st March, 1864. Mr. Cama "saw the necessity of founding a Society where his band of young priest-pupils, who studied according to the Western method, and others who knew and studied the Iranian languages according to the old traditional method, could meet, submit and discuss the result of their studies and researches." The Society still works under the Presidentship of Mr. Muncherji Pestonji Khareghat, I. C. S. (Retd.). Cama's long period of his connection with the Society may be divided into three periods: (*a*) During the first few years, he was very active and read many papers. (*b*) Then followed a period of passive activity when he had taken employment as the Secretary and Manager of the Colaba Mill Company, and so, could not get time for studies. (*c*) Then followed another period of activity when he severed his connection with the Mill industry.

In 1901, the Society gave him an address at a public gathering, presided over by Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, the 4th Baronet.

3. EDITING THE JARTHOSHTI ABHYAS

From 1st February 1866, Cama began publishing in Gujarati a journal, named Jarthoshti Abhyas, i.e., Zoroastrain studies. He said in the very first issue : " The object is that the public in general may know, through a journal, subjects of religious importance." It seems that, at first, he had announced in the weekly *Rast Goftar*, that he would issue the journal, provided there were sufficient contributors. The response was weak. So, he waited for some time, but did not like to wait long. He said " If I were to wait for the time when others can join in the movement with zeal, perhaps I shall have to wait till the end of my life. *Life is short, and we have much to do.*" It was with this idea of energetic work that he pushed himself and pushed his co-workers. The journal was not published periodically but at irregular intervals, when there was sufficient matter. In all eleven numbers were issued, the last being in 1867.

APPRECIATIONS OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

Cama was always ready to appreciate good work, wherever and whenever done. With a view to encourage others, he appreciated laudable attempts in the cause of the advancement of Iranian learning. With that view, he initiated such movements of appreciation or joined such movements initiated by others, in the case of scholars like Dr. Haug, Prof. Bopp, Prof. Spiegel, Prof. Darmesteter and Prof. Jackson.

The name of Dr. Martin Haug, who was for several years Professor of Sanskrit at the Deccan College, Poona, is well known both to Indian and Iranian scholars. As an Iranian scholar, his services were to the cause of both, the Iranian languages and Iranian religion. Cama held receptions in his honour. He arranged for a public lecture from him on "Zoroastrian Religion" when the admission was by tickets of Rs. 5. The ticket-money was intended as a purse to Dr. Haug, but the latter kindly asked the purse-money to be used for asking competitive essays on Iranian subjects. Two Pahlavi treatises were asked to

be prepared in text and translation. It was on Haug's recommendation that the Government of Bombay got a number of Pahlavi books prepared and published by Dastur Hoshang Jamasp, later on, Professor of Persian in the Deccan College. In one of his writings, Cama recommended that a chair of Iranian languages may be founded at the Elphinstone College and Haug appointed its first Professor.

Cama had associated himself in welcoming Prof. Darmesteter who came to India in 1886 and stayed till about March in 1887. He introduced him to Parsee Pahlavi scholars, called special meetings of the Jarthoshti Dinni khol karnari Mandli to meet and hear him, arranged for a public lecture from him and advised Sir Cowasji Jehangir to give an Evening party in his honour. On the death of Darmesteter, he associated himself with a movement, initiated by the late Mr. Behramji Malabari, to found a prize in his honour at the Sir Jamsetjee Madressa.

Prof. Jackson of America, had a similar welcome at the hands of the Parsees, and Mr. Cama had a prominent helping hand in all the

movements. It was he, who, at the desire of several scholars, asked me to edit Spiegel Memorial volume on the death of Dr. Spiegel.

Cama's appreciation of good work in the cause of Iranian literature was extended even to some local workers, like the late Kavasji Edalji Kanga, the Principal of the Mulla Feroze Madressa and the well-known tanslator of the Avesta in Gujarati, and the late Bomanji Behramji Patel, the Hon. Secretary of the above Madressa and the author of the Parsee Prakash, in the compilation of which yeoman service is done to the cause of the history of the Parsees. He gave sums of money to found prizes in their honour at the Mulla Feroze Madressa.

His love for, and acquirements in, Iranian studies led to his help and advice being sought by various Madressas which were educational institutions for teaching Iranian languages. So, he was connected with the undermentioned Madressas : 1. Mulla Feroze Madressa in Bombay 2. Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy Zarthoshti Madreesa in Bombay 3. The Nusservanji Ratanji Tata Madressa at Naosari.

MULLA FEROZE MADRESSA

The Mulla Feroze Madressa was founded on 24th April 1854. He was appointed a member of its managing committee in 1854, the very year of its foundation. This was before his visit to Europe. He was appointed its president in 1879 and continued as such till his death.

THE SIR JAMSETJEE JEEJEEBHOY MADRESSA

This Madressa was founded by the Dowager Lady Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy in honour of her husband and opened on the 4th March 1863. In 1877, Cama was appointed a member of a Committee appointed "to devise means to make the Institute more useful." He was appointed its Superintendent in 1880 and worked as such till the end of his life.

THE TATA MADRESSA

This Madressa was founded at Naosari in 1884 by Mr. Nusserwanji Rattanji Tata (1821-86), the father of the late Mr. Jamshedji N. Tata. It is specially intended to train Parsee boys of the priesthood class for their Navar and Maratab degrees of priesthood. In addition to text, ritual was taught. As a staunch

Free-mason, Cama knew well that there was no religious system without its ritual. So, he wished that the boy-priests knew and understood its ritual intelligently. He was nominated a member of its Managing Committee in 1886 and worked as such till the end of his life.

PRIZES IN THE CAUSE OF EDUCATION

Cama was "one of those who firmly believed in the magic influence of education, who have in education as it were a watch word for the general advancement of the country and who see in education, the salvation of India." So, he began offering prizes from his young age of 21. He offered anonymously a prize of Rs. 150 from Canton in 1852 on "The Advantages of Railways," and one of Rs. 250 on "The Education of the Natives in the Bombay Presidency: its present and future results." But this was in the field of secular education.

He gave the following big prizes for the encouragement of study in Iranian subjects :

1. A Gujarati translation of the Vendidad, Rs. 800.

2. An Essay in Gujarati on the writings of Herodotus on Iranians, Rs. 500.

3 An Eassy on Sir Oliver Lodge's "Substance of Faith" from a Zoroastrian point of view, Rs. 500.

All the three above Essays are published, the first as a separate publication, the second in the several issues of the Journal of the Iranian Association and the third in the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute.

CAMA'S DONATION OF RS. 25,000.

The firm of Messrs. Hormasji Muncherji Camaji's sons, of which Cama was a partner, was closed in 1871. It then set apart a sum of Rupees one lakh to form a Charity Fund named "Hormasji Muncherji Cama Charity Fund." Mr. Cama added to that Charity fund Rs. 25,000 from himself, on condition that the annual income of his donation may be given to him to be used for any Parsee charity he liked. Mr. Cama generally used this income in various ways for the advancement of Iranian studies among the Parsees.

CAMA AS A FRIEND OF EDUCATION

Cama attached much importance to Education. He began taking interest in it from a very early age, when he was in China and had just entered into his age of maturity. He had offered then to the Bombay Board of Education a prize of Rs. 250 for the subject, "The Education of the Natives in the Bombay Presidency—Its present and future results." Cama, as it were, saw the salvation of India,—salvation in all directions —in Education. He fully grasped the old Iranian view of education which made the parents spiritually responsible for the education of their children. According to that view, if a child, by virtue of the good education that the parents gave to it, did a meritorious act, the parents had a share in the merit. On the other hand, if the child, as the result of the want of proper education from the parents did a wrongful act, the parents also were responsible for it. They shared the sin and its responsibility. Dr. Rapp, whose German work Cama had translated into English said, that "the most remarkable and the most

beautiful form in which the moral spirit of the Persian people realized itself in life is the well-known Persian education."

With the above views in mind, Cama helped and encouraged education in all its three branches 1. Physical 2. Intellectual 3. Religious.

1. PHYSICAL EDUCATION

Cama, as a true Iranian, attached great importance to physical culture. He seems to have studied the work of the gymnasiums of Paris, because we find him giving his experience of Paris in one of his speeches, from the chair of a gymnasium gathering.

CAMA AND THE BOMBAY GYMNASIUM

Mr. Mervanji Nosherwanji Bhownagree, the father of Sir Mancherji M. Bhownagree, had founded in 1858, a gymnasium in Bombay, managed by a Committee with himself as its President. Cama attended the first annual meeting of the Institution, in which, as a boy, Sir Muncherji Bhownagree was a prize-winner. He was then specially thanked at a second meeting for presenting the Institution with a book on " Gymnastic Machines." He was appointed

a member of the Committee as well as its Superintendent in 1865 and its President in 1886. He continued as such till the end of his life.

FEMALE EDUCATION

Though leaders like Framji Cowasji and Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy had begun taking steps for cultivating the minds of the females of their families, it was left to the band of the then young Elphinstonians, like Dadabhoy Nowroji, Sorabji S. Bengalee, Cama and others, to spread female education on a large scale among their women. They well understood that Female Education was a plank in the scheme of the Progress of a community. They well knew that much importance was attached to Female education in their ancient Avesta and Pahlavi books. Cama's interest in Female Education began when he was a young man of 22. He was sending from China donations for female education to the Students' Literary and Scientific Society which was founded in 1848 and which conducted primary schools. He continued that interest on his return from Europe and associated

himself, with the management of the following girls' schools:

1. The Zoroastrian Girls' School. He was appointed a member of its Managing Committee in 1860, a Trustee in 1885 and its President in 1895. He continued as President till the end of his life, with the exception of two or three years, when he purposely vacated the chair to give it to the fourth Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, in order to secure his co-operation and sympathy for the work of the Schools' Society.

2. The Alexandra Girls' English Institution founded by the late Manockji Cursetji Shroff in 1863 and named after Alexandra, Princess of Wales. In 1863, he was appointed a member of its Committee and he paid it a donation of Rs. 1,000.

3. Bai Navajbai Tata Girls' School at Naosari, which was founded in 1858 and was supported, at first, by Mr. Dosabhoy Framji Cama. Later on, Mr. Nusserwanji Ruttonji Tata gave a big donation for it in memory of his sister Navajbai. It was then named after her. Cama was appointed a member of its

Committee in 1886. Later on, he was appointed its President. He held the post till the end of his life.

CAMA'S WORK FOR BOYS' SCHOOLS

Cama was associated in the management of the following schools for boys :

1. The Schools of the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy Parsee Benevolent Institution.

2. The High School at Naosari, known as the Sir Cowasji jehangir Madressa.

3. The Dadabhoy Tata Anglo-Vernacular School at Naosari.

4. The Nusserwanji Mancherji Cama School at Bombay.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Among Cama's activities in the cause of education, those for the spread of religious education stand high. Religious education aims at moral education. Parsee books speak of three principal charities :- 1. To relieve distress 2. to help marriage and 3. to spread knowledge. Religious knowledge stands high in the class of that knowledge.

Cama first began impressing his people with the necessity of religious education in

1876, when he delivered a set of four lectures on this subject. In 1881, he delivered another set of lectures. This second series had good results, because his "Rahnumai Sabha" then began giving religious education and published a set of seven books for the purpose. Then in 1901, he made another great effort and called a special conference of the leading members of the community. This movement led to the foundation of the Society for the promulgation of Religious Knowledge. The Society has published a set of books five of which were written by me and Cama took an active part in its Book Committee.

OTHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Cama was a member of the following Educational bodies and took deep interest in their work :

1. The University of Bombay.
2. The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
3. The Anthropological Society of Bombay.
4. The Natural History Society.

5. The Gujarati Dnyan Prasarak Mandli (Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge).
6. The Parsee Lekhak Mandal (i. e. The Authors' Association).

He was associated with the management of the following Public libraries :

1. The Native General Library.
2. The Jamshetji Nusserwanji Petit Institution.
3. The Sassoon Mechanics' Institute.
4. The People's Free Reading Room and Library.

CAMA AND THE BOMBAY UNIVERSITY

He was elected a Fellow of the Bombay University in 1866. Though he took no active part in the deliberations of the Senate, he took great interest in its proceedings. He was appointed an Examiner in 1894 with Sir (then Mr.) Aural Stein as his colleague in Avesta and Pahlavi, in the introduction of which into the whole of the University curriculum he took a prominent part. In 1895 he paid Rs. 5,000 and founded a scholarship in Avesta and Pahlavi in memory of his wife Bai Aimae. Again, he

was instrumental in securing other scholarships. The then Vice-Chancellor Sir Narayan Chandavarkar thus bemoaned his loss in his Convocation Address of 1910 :

"In the saintly Khurshedji Rustamji Cama, we have lost a man of exemplary pursuits and high ideals of life. Unassuming, seeking knowledge for its own sake, unselfish, he was a man, not of mere opinions, but of convictions, and his convictions were generally sound; he has impressed his individuality to some extent on his race; and not only Parsees but all other communities would be all the better for copying the example of his blameless life, the music of which was such as to pierce to the soul of nearly every one who had frequent converse with him."

CAMA AND THE B. B. R. A. SOCIETY

Cama joined the B. B. R. A. Society in 1862, was elected a member of its Managing Committee in 1878 and Vice-President in 1896. He was also a Trustee of its funds. He regularly attended its meetings. On his death, the Society recorded " its testimony to his varied activities, to the interest he took in its affairs and to his great services in connection with Iranian literature." While placing the resolution of its tribute before the meeting, the President, Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, " referred to the high sense of duty that characterised Mr. Cama and the marked

influence which he exerted on others and described him as great and good." It was on the platform of this Society that Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar had come into closer contact with him and it was this contact that led him to say at the first Oriental Conference at Poona a few words of appreciation of Mr. Cama's scholarship.

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Cama took an active part with the late Mr. Tyrrel Leith in founding in 1886 the Anthropological Society of Bombay, of the Provisional Committee of which he was appointed a member. He was then appointed a member of its Council in 1887 and its Vice-President in 1887. He was later appointed its President. On his death, Mr. James MacDonald, the then President, while proposing the Resolution recording his loss to the Society, in the work and literary discussions of the meetings of which he had taken " a very active and zealous part " said :

"I found him to be one of the kindest souls I ever looked upon. I have known him as a scholar, as a Zoroastrian of the highest type and as a person of the greatest unselfishness."

CAMA AND OTHER SOCIETIES

The Bombay Natural History Society was founded in 1883 and Cama joined it in 1884.

The Students' Literary and Scientific Society which was founded in 1848, found in Cama a great friend, and, at its sitting of 10th March 1855, welcomed him on his return from China and specially thanked him for his "generous contributions" from there. It appointed him a member of its Managing Committee. In 1870, he was appointed an ex-officio Vice-President.

The Gujarati Dnyan Prasarak Mandali, which was founded in September 1848 and which was, as it were, a child of the above Students' Society, found in Cama, one, who had taken with others an active part in reviving it in 1870. He was appointed its Vice-President in 1872 and President in 1874. He delivered a set of four lectures soon after its revival "on the Linguistic Palœontalogy of Iran, as derived from philological sources."

The Parsee Lekhak Mandal (Authors' Association) was a literary Society which was founded under the Presidentship of Mr. Cama.

He presided at most of its meetings and took an active part in the cause of the encouragement of Parsee Gujarati literature.

CAMA AND VARIOUS LIBRARIES

A Library is said to be the Soul's Dispensary. Cama worked on the Committees of some of the city's Dispensaries for the health of the body and he also worked in the Committees of the libraries, the Dispensaries of the Soul. Among these libraries the Mulla Feroze Library, the Native General Library, the Sassoon Mechanics' Institute and the J. N. Petit Institute were the principal. After his death, the President of the last Institute, Sir Dinshaw Maneckji Petit, Bart, while opening Cama's bust at the Institute, very well summed up Cama's life work. He said :

"He (Cama) was the moving spirit of the religious and social life of the Parsee community. He was a great scholar and teacher. It was never too late for him to learn and whatever he learnt he did not keep to himself but imparted it to others. . . . He had the courage of his opinions, and, in expressing it, he thought neither of the applause nor of the scorn of his community. In short, he was a man of whom any community and any country can be proud."

The Mulla Feroze Library had found in Mr. Cama something like its life and soul.

He was appointed its Honorary Secretary in 1861 and its President in 1875, a post which he held till the end of his life.

CAMA AS A CITIZEN

We have hitherto spoken of Mr. Cama's activities in the line of learning and education. We may now speak of some of his activities as a public citizen.

(*a*) The first institution, other than educational with which Cama was associated, on his return from England, was the Fort Gratuitous Dispensary, which was started, at first, principally with the aid of the Cama family. This dispensary has latterly been given a house of its own, near the Free Masons' Hall in the Ravelin Street, by the generosity of Mr. Sorabji C. Powwala, who built a commodious building for it. Mr. Cama was appointed its President in 1885.

(*b*) Latterly, some time after the outbreak of Plague in Bombay, when the Colaba people started a Free Dispensary with the help, partly of the Municipality and partly of Cotton Merchants and other subscribers, he worked till the end of his life as a member of its

Managing Committee. In its earlier years, he was the Secretary and Manager of the Colaba Land and Mill Company, and, as such, he began giving it a substantial help in money from its funds.

PROPRIETORSHIP IN THE "RAST GOFTAR"

In 1858, Cama joined, as proprietor, the weekly Parsee paper, the *Rast Goftar* which was an organ of the new progressive school of the Elphinstonians. He joined it, not from any business point of view, but from the charitable point of view of helping the cause of Progress. He continued as partner till 1869. He also wrote in the paper occasionally.

CAMA AS A VOLUNTEER

(a) In 1861, he joined the first Parsi Volunteer Corps, brought into existence by the late Mr. Jehangir Burjorji Wacha. This was only one kind of volunteering—volunteering to offer his services for the defence of his country, but he volunteered his services in several other directions also.

(b) He volunteered his services in 1864, for explaining to the people the aims and

objects of the Census operations held at the time. The Government thanked him for this service and for the help given by him to the then Census Commissioner, Mr. Forjett.

(c) On the breaking up of plague in 1896, he offered his services as a Plague Volunteer in different directions and was given a certificate of merit "for having worked as plague volunteer during the Plague years in Bombay from 1897 to 1899."

(d) When the Government asked for volunteers from the Justices of the Peace, to act as Honorary Magistrates, he volunteered his services and worked, as it were, till the moment of his death, because he died suddenly of heart failure when he was dressing to go to do his duty as an Honorary Magistrate.

(e) During the Plague, when the Parsee Panchayet started its own Plague Hospital, Plague Camps and Inocculation Scheme, he volunteered his services to lecture before the people on the benefit of taking advantage of the above measures. He went from Camp to Camp, explaining and preaching.

AS JUSTICE OF THE PEACE

He was appointed a Justice of the Peace by Government in 1863. In those times, this nomination was considered a great honour at the hands of Government. The Justices as a Board carried on the work of Muncipal administration. He took interest in the work of this administration by the Justices. Later on, when the Board of the Justices ceased to work and the Muncipal Corporation came into existence, he was elected in 1875 by the rate-payers of his ward—Malabar Hill and Girgaum —a member of the Corporation. He generally tried to take the people's points of view, looking both to economy and efficiency.

THE PARSEE MATRIMONIAL COURT

In 1867, the Government nominated him on the recommendation of the Parsee Justices of the Peace, a Delegate of the Parsee Matrimonial Court. He regularly attended the sittings of the Court when summoned and worked upto the end of his life. He had the experience of a happy home life, because, he was a dutiful son, loving husband, and an affectionate father, and, he, brought his ripe judgment and

good experience of a happy married life into his office as a Delegate.

THE ANJUMAN-I-ISLAM MADRESSA

In 1882, there had arisen some controversy about the efficiency of the Anjuman-i-Islam Madressa. As Cama had an experience of some European Institutions and local Madressas, he was appointed a member of the Committee appointed by the committee of the Madressa to look into the affairs of the Islam Madressa.

SOME PARSEE FUNDS

(*a*) In 1864, he was elected Hon. Secretary of the fund for the purpose of giving a monthly stipend to the Dastur of the Kadimi Parsees. In 1895, he was elected President of the Fund.

(*b*) In 1865, he was "appointed a Trustee of the Sett Nusserwanji Manekji Cama Charity Fund." He was nominated its Chairman in 1885 and continued as such till the end of his life.

(*c*) In 1873, he was "appointed a Trustee of the Dadysett's Kadimi Atash Behram and the Kadimi Gahambar Fund." He was appointed its chairman in 1892.

(*d*) In 1885, he was "appointed an Honorary Secretary to the Fund started to perpetuate the memory of the late Mr. Kharshedji Nosherwanji Cama with the object of helping poor Parsi students in the pursuit of their studies. He worked as its President till the end of his life.

NAOROZ COMMITTEE

In 1895, when a Committee, named "Naoroz (New year) Committee" was formed to determine the proper day of the commencement of of the Parsi year, he was appointed its Vice-President.

CAMA AND SOME COMMUNAL MOVEMENTS

As a leading member of the Parsee Community, he took an active part in several communal questions.

THE USE OF THE TOWERS OF SILENCE

The first communal question, in which Cama took up a position, opposed to the general concensus of opinion of the community, occurred in 1870, when the Government introduced the Contagious Diseases Act. The community as a body, of which it was once a pride to be said, that there were no beggars and no

prostitutes among them, was shocked at the news, that two Parsee women had applied for license under the Act. The Trustees of the Parsee Panchayet therefore called a Public meeting of the community to consider what measures may be taken to curb the evil. The meeting, presided over by Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, the second Baronet, resolved, that for such women, the use of the Towers of Silence for the disposal of their corpse be denied. Mr. Cama entered a mild protest against this decision of the meeting, of course not advocating the cause of the women, but on the ground of religious injunctions which forbade burial and cremation. He suggested that other measures may be taken to improve or punish such women, but not the one prohibited by the scriptures; because, if the women were denied the use of the Towers, their bodies would be buried or cremated which was wrong from a Zoroastrian point of view. His protest had some effect. The Dasturs or high priests were consulted, and, in the end, it was resolved, that the women may be denied the use of

ordinary Towers of Silence, but that their bodies may be placed on a *chotra* (a raised platform), not a regular duly consecrated tower.

THE BAJ ROZGAR QUESTION

The Baj-rozgar ceremonies of the Paris are commemoration ceremonies in honour of the dead. Some Parsees set apart money in Trust for the performance of these ceremonies, but the High Courts did not uphold the Trusts, from the point of view of English Law, saying that such Trusts were not Public Trusts, and so, money could not be locked up perpetually in them. The Bombay High Court having invalided some such Trusts, the Community sent in a Requisition to the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayet to convene a Public meeting to memorialize Government. Now, in this, matter a few members of the Reforming School of Cama sided with the Government against their community, not on any ground that the ceremonies of commemoration were unnecessary, but because, many excrescences had entered into them and had made them very expensive. In this question, Cama surprised his friends of the Reform School by

differing from them and by siding with the Community. He took the reasonable view, that a ceremonial commemoration was "meant to preserve a pious remembrance of the dead, to give an expression to the love, affection and gratitude of the living towards the dead." So, at the Public meeting he moved the very first Resolution asking the Government to give the Community some relief. "Like many, he took in this matter the view that, by all means, let the false excrescences be removed, but do not try to destroy the original good custom. If a bar of iron has got rusty, remove the rust, but do not entirely throw away the rod because, it is rusty." The request of the memorial, though signed by the intelligent of the community except a few, about 16 gentlemen who protested, was not complied with by Government on the ground of public policy that such Trusts were private and they were not Trusts of Public Charity.

ADMISSION OF ALIENS INTO THE FAITH

The third great question that had cropped up in the community was that of conversion of aliens into the Zoroastrian fold. The ques-

tion had arisen from the fact, that a Parsee gentleman, having married a French lady in France, had, on coming to Bombay, got the investiture cremony of the sacred shirt and thread performed upon her to admit her into the Zoroastrian fold. The community as a body, did not like such admissions and they held public meetings and committees and sub-committees to consider the question. The community resolved that such admissions were not acceptable. Mr. Cama differed from the view on the ground that such admissions were good and valid. The matter went to the High Court, which decided in favour of the community that such conversions were invalid.

CAMA AS A REFORMER

Mr. Cama advocated reform in all directions, social, religious and educational. We know that at times, a mere *change* passes under the name of reform. In some men, there is a longing for a change, a mere change in the old existing forms; and the accomplishment of that hankering after change passes under the name of reform. Such changes are destructive. But Mr. Cama's advocacy was not for

such kind of reforms. He was a reformer of the constructive type. In the strictest sense of the word, he tried to *re*-form what he found to have been *de*-formed. He was one of those reformers, who thought that, in a true reform, one must aim not at complete destruction of the institutions or customs sought to be reformed, but at correcting the deformities.

CAMA AS A LECTURER AND AUTHOR

Prof. Darmesteter called Cama " un Dastur laique" (a layman Dastur), on account of his knowledge of Iranian lore. But. Cama, was a Dastur in other respects also. A good Dastur has, not only to teach continually but also to learn continually. So Cama was a learner, almost all his life and a good teacher as well. He delivered a number of lectures and taught people in different directions. His first attempt as a public teacher was in 1864, when he explained to the people the aims and objects of the Census which was held in that year. Then he delivered in Bombay, Poona, Naosari, Surat, Broach, Ahmedabad, Kurachee, Secunderabad and Hydera-

bad, a number of lectures—at times a series, on various Zoroastrian subjects.

CAMA AS A FREEMASON

Mr. Cama rose to the highest rank and honour in Masonry available. "He was the first Indian Grand Master Depute of Grand Lodge A. S. F. I. and during a few months' absence of the Grand Master, the late Sir Henry Morland, he had full charge of the Grand Lodge of India, an unique honour." Again, he had "the unusual honour of being the first Indian Grand Superintendent of Scotch Royal Arch Masonry in India. He was re-elected three times in succession at the end of every five years."

CAMA AS A THEOSOPHIST

If there was any event in Mr. Cama's life that surprised most of his friends and foes (if any), it was the event of his joining the Theosophical Society of Bombay. There were many in Bombay and in the country generally, who sympathised with the work of the Society in standing against the materialism of the day and in standing for the revival of the ancient literature and religion of the country

in its pristine light. But the attempted association of the so-called miracles of some of its members with the work of the Society, kept back many. Cama, at first, was not well-inclined towards the Society as a body, though, personally, he was friendly with Col. Olcott, one of the founders of the Society.

He occasionally accompanied the writer of this sketch to the lectures of the Society, and, at times, in conversation with him, admired the zeal of its members in the various classes they had started, especially the classes for the study of the Gathas aud other Zoroastrain scriptures. He attended a series of Lectures on the subject of Theosophy by Mrs. Besant in 1905 which made an impression upon his mind, and at once convinced him of the truths of Theosophy. Once convinced of the truth of some of its best teachings he got himself initiated at the hands of Mrs. Besant. Some of his friends, though surprised, tried to make light of the matter, saying, that he joined only to see what was in the inner circle of the Theosophists. But that was not the case. He joined of his own belief and convictions.

OLD AGE AND DEATH

Cama seems to have caught some of the infirmities of old age a few years before his death. He had retired from his Secretaryship of the Colaba Mills Company about 10 years before his death. Though he was going out for his work in connection with various Societies and other public business, his sight had begun to fail. He once specially went to Madras, to consult a specialist there, but to no advantage. Again, his heart had become weak and he was asked to be very careful in his movements. But he was a man of strong will-power. So, though he did not altogether disregard medical advice, he did not attach much importance to it. He died suddenly on the morning of 13th August, 1909 when preparing himself to attend his work as an Honorary Magistrate. While dressing, he fell and died—died to live in the memory of a number of Societies and a number of friends.

J. N. TATA.*

THE town of Navsari in Gujarat has had no local history worth the name except in its connection with the Parsees, whose residence it became soon after their arrival in India. Since then it has had reasons to be proud, for many a name of celebrity amongst the Parsees whom it has sent forth into the world; but it could not have felt prouder of itself than in 1839, when the cool breezes blowing from the distant shore wafted eastwards the news that in the house of one of its beloved and respected citizens was born a child, which was afterwards to become known as Jamshedji Nusserwanji Tata. If we were writing a nursery tale for children, we would have described how at his birth fortune smiled on him, and how the freaks of one of the fairies led her to endow the child with the secret of

* Prepared by Pestonji A. Wadia. Reprinted by courtesy of the Manager, Mandraiyan Press, Bombay.

success. If we were writing a purely biographical account of the well-known citizen of Bombay, we might have dwelt on that home in Navsari which left its impress on the child and which must have contributed so powerfully to the making of the man. If we had the duty of the psychological analyst laid on us, we might have studied the early growth of his mind and determined the respective shares of his native town, his parents, and his environments in its formation.

But with all these various aspects of his childhood we presume not to deal; for ours is the task of the critic who records the public actions of a great man and his influence on his age and country. We shall endeavour to estimate the man by his public career, to determine what he was by what he did. The future biographer of the man may consider the various aspects of his life which we propose to omit,—what the man was in his private life, how far the influences of his early infancy contributed towards the making of his public career, what inspiration he derived from his early environments, and how far in the noble

struggle of his life he owed his strength and resolution to the sacred influences of 'home.' It is true the unity of a biography is lost by the omission of details like these; equally true is it that the resulting judgment is more a distorting caricature than a living representation. The cool judgment of an external observer, the dry light of a bold critic who has no instruments to mould his material except the surface movements on the public stage, can never be an effective substitute for the eye of sympathy that perceives the inner springs of actions and follows with interest the agitations of the heart within. But let each have his turn. The observer from the outside has his own work to do. The light and shades which the sympathetic eye cannot perceive might be opened to the vision of the distant gazer; the aspects which might be shut out from the ken of the student of the domestic record might be better measured by the scales of the philosophic historian of national land-marks.

For thirteen years the young child was allowed to breathe the Navsari air under the happy influence of an old-fashioned but comfortable

home. Young Jamshedji was then taken to Bombay to continue the elements of education that he had begun to pick up at his birth-place. Three years later, we are told, he entered the Elphinstone College. In 1856 he was a Clare scholar, the next year a West scholar. He completed his academic education in 1859, after a four years' programme of study. The child had by this time grown into a full grown man, equipped by his studies for a strenuous life. Whatever other effects these studies may have had, they seem to have left one or two prominent marks on the youth, which had no small share in the making of his future greatness. They had already endowed him with that habit of patient and methodical investigation, as a preliminary but indispensable step in the organisation of his projects, that characterised every action and inspired every movement of his future life. They had already endowed him with a sense of public duty which made him feel that his welfare was bound up with the welfare of his country, and that in working for his country he was working for himself.

Academic education in Mr. Tata's times seems to have had a truly liberalising effect on the minds of its recipients; there was nothing of that interested love of learning which takes away from it half its virtue and dignity in our own days. There was one other man with Mr. Tata in whom the same stamp of precision and intellectual acuteness made by an academic career was supplemented by the same sense of public duty, *viz.*, Dr. Bhandarkar. They were two products of the same culture, who in their after life made themselves so useful in their own ways—the one in the exploration of unknown fields of industry, the other in the exploration of the then unknown fields of Sanskrit Literature and early Indian History.

Shortly after he completed his studies, he joined his father's firm. It was a firm of commissariat contractors in which old Mr. Nusserwanji had been able to recover a lost fortune and to make himself once more a well-to-do man. There appears to have been a natural propensity to commercial enterprise in the youth, which he must have undoubtedly inherited from his shrewd father; and it must

have been carefully fostered under the eye of the parent even during the period of his academic education. For the few months' training that he received in the firm could not have been all-sufficient to endow him with that business insight which he displayed in a developed form in the same year. Young Mr. Jamshedji was now sent to China, where he laid the foundations of a firm, which, after manifold vicissitudes in name and fortune was styled Tata & Co., a name so familiar in commercial circles in Bombay and elsewhere. The firm which thus in 1861 came into being under the auspicious direction of the young man from Bombay was styled for the time being Jamshedji Ardeshir & Co. For two more years after the foundation of the firm, he remained in China directing its budding transactions, keeping himself wide awake and assimilating a vast amount of commercial intelligence to his already ample stock. It was a time when alert intelligence could rapidly accumulate a fortune, and when pioneering skill in commercial enterprise could transform dross into gold. It was a time for

new ideas and theories; success was easy and certain, and the environments extremely favourable. The commercial crisis of 1865 in Bombay, with the speculative craze from which it resulted, was itself a proof of the fact that the era was an era for the ability of pioneers and the propagation of new ideas.

Accordingly when, in 1863, Mr. Tata returned to Bombay he returned with fresh ideas in his mind. A new venture was made under the name of Nusserwanji Ruttonji & Co., including as partners, besides himself, his father, Shapoorji Sorabji Saklatwala and Kahandas Narandas. A new idea now occupied him—the idea of establishing an Indian Bank in London. Mr. Premchand Roychand, a capitalist with enterprising ideas, was to be his partner in the scheme. An Indian Bank in London, if once established as a successful concern, would have facilitated monetary transactions between the two countries and would have commanded English capital for India on easier terms than was then possible. Above all, it would have enormously and immediately expanded the mercantile connec-

tions of the Tata firms in Bombay. It is impossible to conjecture what development such a Bank might have had, started as it would have been in times when the difficulties of the silver question had not begun to be felt, and when the flow of capital from England had not to reckon with the dangers of a fluctuating rate of exchange. But the project so well conceived was destined for an early death; the financial craze of 1865, the effects of which were particularly disastrous for Bombay commercial interests, involved in its fatal whirlpool the Tata firms as well as the intended partner in the scheme—Mr. Premchand Roychand. Though thus withered in the bud, the scheme was not altogether fruitless; and from its neglected seeds was to spring a new growth, of the highest importance in its bearings on the private fortune of the man and on the public interests of the country. Young Mr. Tata had planned a visit to England for carrying out his idea of an Indian Bank; and though the idea was abandoned, the visit to England was not given up along with it. In 1865 he proceeded on

his first continental tour, which this time was confined to England. The mill-industries in Lancashire must have engaged his attention, and he must have made a study of their ways of managing their spinning and weaving concerns and of their business habits. The researches he thus made and the knowledge he thus acquired were to be the bases on which he shortly afterwards ventured to make a successful start in that direction.

On his return from England, however, the first and most important consideration with him was to try and build up again the family fortune which had been lost in 1865. Helped by the experience of his father, and in co-operation with him, he undertook Government contracts in connection with the Abyssinian War, and amassed a fortune again in a short time.

But it was not enough to have restored a family fortune; the influence of the Western air he had just had occasion to breathe would not leave him so soon; inaction was never attractive to one who was a descendant of the ancient stock of the Persians; satisfaction

at what had been actually achieved acted only as an incentive to fresh achievements ; success only nerved the brain for greater efforts. Such was the predominant characteristic of Mr. Tata's life, and it had already attained its proper place in the history of that life. The scheme for the Reclamation of Back Bay had already been started, and young Mr. Tata joined it with Messrs. Cameron and Ryan as partners.

But the impressions of his visit to England were all this while urging him in a different direction, to which he now turned his attention. His first venture in the mill-industry was the purchase of the Chinchpoogly Oil Mills ; he immediately transformed it into a spinning and weaving mill, and named it the 'Alexandra Mills.' After having started and successfully worked it for a time he sold the concern at a profit to Mr. Keshowji Naik. But the abandonment of this concern did not imply a withdrawal from the mill-industry on the part of Mr. Tata; it was only the prelude to a more decided venture which must have been haunting his mind for a long time. He

now visited England for the second time in 1872, to complete his study of the cotton industry of Lancashire and to supplement his previous insight into it by fuller information. The principle of business, the elements of successful management, the favourable conditions of development—all these were the objects of patient investigation, and it was with a thorough mastery of all these details that he returned to his native land to put them to the ordeal of practical trial.

But he did not return direct to his native country. His tour this time was confined to England alone. He had the genius of a traveller, and from England he proceeded on a tour through Palestine. The notes that he made during this tour, as also his notes and diaries in general, have not yet been given to the public, but Mr. Natarajan affords us occasional glimpses into them with reference to this Palestine tour. One thing stands prominently out in these glimpses, namely, that Mr. Tata travelled with open eyes and a critic's vision. Once, we are told, he allowed himself an expression of self-satisfaction at subscrib-

ing to a school kept by Christian nuns at Jerusalem. "Some bigots," he writes, "would have refused aid to an institution established with the avowed object of spreading Christianity, but we took a more cosmopolitan view and thought that education and the spread of knowledge under any colour was better than ignorance." It was a sentiment that was always present with the acute buisness man, a sentiment of large-hearted cosmopolitan sympathy, and a belief in the value of education; it was a shadow cast before of his future attitude towards the spread of liberal education in India. This humble seed was to grow soon into Jonah's gourd with all its sheltering kindness and benevolent shade.

The first question that faced him on his return to India was to select a suitable place for the erection of his proposed mill. He travelled all over the country, both in body and mind, in search of this site, and at last hit upon Nagpur as fulfilling his requirements. Its central situation as well as the vicinity of the cotton districts may have had largely influenced

his choice, though the best vindication for it is the actual success that has attended the selection. The preliminary preparations were soon undertaken and finished, and an auspicious day was selected for the inauguration of the mill. The day which saw the proclamation of the late Queen Victoria of beloved memory as the Empress of India also saw the opening of the Empress Mills at Nagpur ; it was the 1st of January 1877. The proclamation of the Queen as Empress was thus accompanied by the introduction of a new era of industrial organisation ; by a strange decree of fate the significance of the political transformation in the country, which created for once a living bond of unity in the shape of loyalty to the person of the Empress, was heightened by the simultaneous announcement of a commercial enterprise, which has left a permanent landmark in the history of its economic organisation. For, the inauguration of the Nagpur Mills was nothing less than that. The Mills were opened with 30,000 spindles and 450 looms; at the present day the spindles have been increased to 67,000 and the looms to 1400. The com-

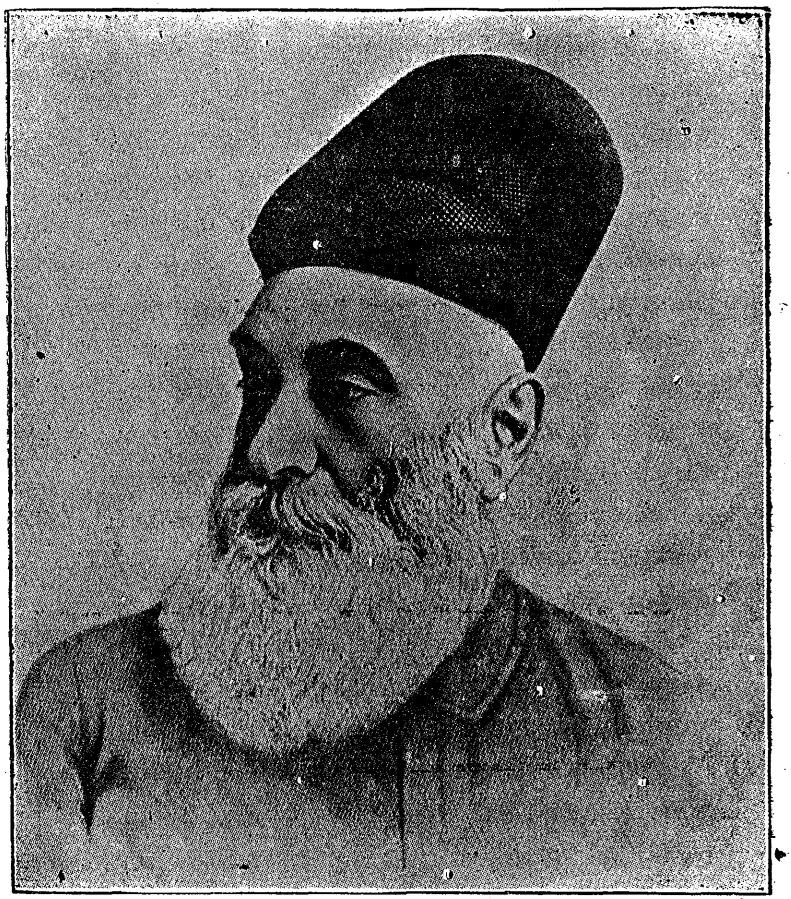
pany started with an original capital of Rs. 15,00,000 which with the lapse of time has been increased to Rs. 46,00,000; the increase being made not by the offer of shares to the public but by laying aside a part of its annual profits and giving freely to its share-holders the fully paid up shares. The annual profits of the company have on an average exceeded 50 per cent. on the original capital, and the dividend paid to the share-holders has ranged from 30 per cent. to 60 per cent. on the original value of the shares,

What were the causes to which the Nagpur Mills owed their unparalleled and peculiar success? At a time when old and conservative methods of manufacturing were followed in the rest of the country, the Nagpur Mills were started with the latest improvements in manufacturing processes and with the help of the latest scientific advances. When the industry in the rest of the country was in the hands of unenterprising, narrow-visioned capitalists, who looked more to the immediate returns to their investments than to anything else, the mills in Central India were managed under the

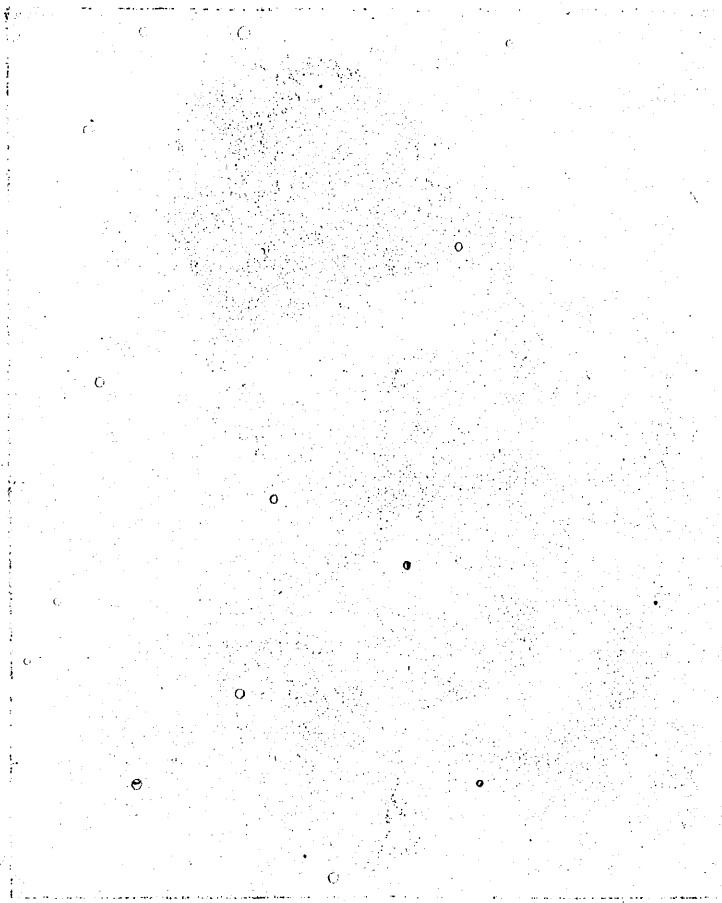
guidance of an intelligent, resourceful mind, whose penetrating vision enabled it to see things in their right proportion. While the rest of the mill-owners followed the pernicious system of the quarter anna commission on production, the clear vision of the man of thirtyeight perceived the baneful results of such a starvation policy and enabled him to be satisfied with only a reasonable percentage on the net profits for himself. While the majority of the captains of industry could not shake themselves clear of the traditional theories of a conflict between labour and capital, and of the clashing interests of shareholders and mill-owners, the owner of the new mill was convinced of the essential harmony of the interests of capital and labour, and considered that the prosperity of his concern depended on the prosperity of its employees, and the good will of the shareholders. But, above all, while the manufacturing concerns over the country generally were under the management of men whose qualifications were not of the highest and confined to knowledge of an extremely technical kind, the new mill

could boast of being conducted by men who were experts in their line and whose technical experience was supplemented by the broad lights of culture. Eighteen years later, when a new spinning shed was opened in 1895, in connection with the Mills by the Chief Commissioner, Mr. John Woodburn, Mr. Tata admirably summed up for himself the causes which ensured such unparalleled success to his enterprise in Nagpur. He said that he did not claim to be more unselfish, more generous or more philanthropic than other people, but he did claim that those mills were started on sound and straightforward principles. What his modesty prevented him from adding was that he had really exercised an amount of disinterestedness that was not usual with the other mill-owners. The postponement of present interests to future is as useful a principle in commerce as in politics and morals; and it has found not an entirely negligible illustration in the working of the Empress Mills.

It was in connection with the Nagpur Mills that Mr. Tata in March 1886 published a



J. N. TATA



memorandum on the "Present state and future prospects of the cotton industry in India." The memorandum strongly advised the introduction of the ring spindle into all Indian mills; and Mr. Tata might well have pointed out the success with which it had been introduced in his own Nagpur Mills. "The writer believes," states the memorandum, "that even under the present rather unfavourable relations of prices between cotton on the one hand and piece-goods and yarn on the other, the profits that can be made by means of the new machinery are so great that Bombay must be prepared very soon to see a large extension of her special industry." He warned the old mill-owners who showed a slackness in adopting the new facilities, about the approaching revolution and advised them to "put their old houses in order" before it was too late. The keen intellect of the Parsee mill-owner had perceived the significance of an improvement in the old method of spinning at a time when it was not thoroughly appreciated in England itself; and his interest in the industry as a whole would

not let him sit at rest till he had proclaimed his knowledge to his fellow workers in the same field and exhorted them to take time by the forelock.

There are two other points which may be profitably noticed in connection with the mills at Nagpur. The first is a Pension Fund raised for the benefit of the employees, which ensured a maximum pension of 5 Rupees a month after 30 years' service. It not only ensured efficient labour on the part of the employees, but afforded one way of solving the problem of the shifting habits of the labourers which often faces Indian mill-owners. It was an inducement for regular attendance and served to smooth away the bitterness of relations and the opposition of interests that might now and again arise between the working classes and their employers. Their system of a pension fund has been supplemented by another minor institution, that of giving annual prizes to the operatives for attention to work. It is an incentive to zealous work, and gives the operative a direct interest in the work that he has to do. It realises the advantages of profit-sharing

on a small scale, and adds to the harmony of interests produced by the pension fund.

The other point to notice is the system of paid apprentices in his mills. "We train our young men," was his reply to a question addressed to him on the subject, adding that the mill itself was the best training ground for textile education. He always preferred to invite graduates of the Universities to serve as paid apprentices in his mills, till they acquired the necessary training, when openings were made for them in one or other of Mr. Tata's own concerns. He had a keen appreciation of the advantages of liberal education; he had himself been indebted to too large an extent to his education for his success in life to forget the debt; and the success of his mills was largely due to the circumstance that he could get technical experts of the best type out of the graduates whom he paid as apprentices in the beginning. Here as elsewhere Mr. Tata had hit upon a deep principle, *viz.*, that better technical experts can be made out of men who had undergone a course of liberal education than out of those who came to the line without

such lights, and it is indeed surprising to find that this principle has not been adopted by other mill-owners to any appreciable extent. It serves to throw Mr. Tata's penetrating intellect into broad relief against the dark background of his fellow-workers in the same field with their mechanical methods and conservative instincts. But Mr. Tata's reforms did not stop here. He introduced another with equally great success. The manufacture of commercial articles when conducted on a large scale involves the employment of men who are entrusted with administrative duties. The management of the concern is divided up into a number of hands who have powers of employing labourers, settling their pay and dismissing them. Those subordinates are generally very ill-paid and are always exposed to the temptation of increasing their miserable pay by a system of illicit gratification. Mr. Tata's eye caught the evil at an early stage, and he succeeded in stopping it very efficaciously. Like all great men he possessed the gift of hitting upon the right men; his choice always fell upon men

fitted for his requirements, and he secured these men from temptations by paying them more liberally. Good treatment and liberal salary always attached his subordinates to himself so that they never as a rule severed their connection till they retired; and the savings which they were enabled to make were invested in Mr. Tata's own enterprises, thus strengthening the moral bond between himself and his subordinates. In regard to human services, as much as in regard to inanimate objects of utility, it is true to say that dear-brought things ultimately prove the cheapest, and Mr. Tata not only understood the principle but systematically enforced it in practice.

Encouraged by the extraordinary success which had attended the mills at Nagpur, Mr Tata thought of starting another mill on the same lines in 1885. He selected Pondicherry for the site of his new mill, and a company was floated for the purpose. His object was to introduce the manufactured goods of our country into the French colonies without paying the prohibitive duties of their financial system. But such a mill was not fated to be

started, The project was soon abandoned and the capital destined for the Pondicherry mill was absorbed in the purchase of the Dharamsey mill at Coorla, which changed its name, later on, into the more familiar Swadeshi Mill under Mr. Tata's management. The working of the Swadeshi Mill under his guidance was attended as usual with success; but what was more important, it had a direct effect on the organization and working of the Bombay mills in general. It was he who first commenced in the Coorla Mills the spinning of higher counts and the production of superior qualities of woven goods, an example which was subsequently followed by other Bombay mill-owners. Mr. Tata moreover introduced the system of opening shops in different towns where his own agents could secure a market for the goods produced by his mills; and here too, the success which he met with induced others to follow in his footsteps.

It was in connection with the idea of spinning finer counts that the question first presented itself of growing long staple cotton in the country, like the Egyptian cotton. The results

of experiments carried on in Government farms had been discouraging, so far as the growth of Egyptian cotton in the country was concerned. It was only so late as 1896 that Mr. Tata entered the public lists with a pamphlet in which he stated the results of his own studies on the subject and made a personal appeal to all who might be interested in the matter to try the experiments for themselves. He was of opinion that the Government experiments had failed, because there had been "too great reliance on foreign skill and experience, without sufficient effort to obtain any advantage from local native experience." "Now let us see" he wrote, "if the people themselves with their own means and their own experience of ages may not succeed in ordinary and individual trials on their own account." He then gave a detailed description of the methods of cotton-growing as prevailing in Egypt, which he had personally observed, and pointed out Sind as the province where such experiments might be particularly successful, as there was a great general resemblance bet-

ween the climatic conditions and the natural features of Sind and Egypt. It was only Mr. Tata's insight that could lead him to move in a matter which had obviously no immediate interest for the mill-owners or the cotton-growers. He could see the vast and growing demand for cloth of a finer quality in India was one which the Indian mills could not adequately meet, so long as the country itself was not in a position to grow long-stapled cotton. He could perceive that the local production of cloth of such finer quality would obviate the necessity for large importation of foreign goods, and develop to that extent a new industry in the country. He thought that the Indians would largely benefit by the supply of the same superior qualities of cloth at cheaper rates, since the price of such home-grown cotton would be steadier and cheaper to the extent of the cost of transportation.

We may grant for the moment, with Mr. Tata's critics, that he was over sanguine in his expectations: that the province of Sind differs essentially in its climatic conditions

from Egypt; that the cotton plant when moved from one district to another changes in a most erratic fashion to adapt itself to the new environments; that in short, it is not possible to grow Egyptian cotton on a large scale in India. We may grant that experiments may have actually demonstrated, as is maintained at times, the fruitlessness of such attempts. But that does not depreciate in any way the significance of Mr. Tata's agitation in connection with the experiments. It was he who, for the first time, made an appeal to the people to determine for themselves distinctly whether such a project was not feasible on Indian soil; it was he who laboured through his friends to have definite results on the question, and had he lived to carry out his ideas in connection with the experiments, he might have advanced the processes of cotton cultivation, and shown the way for improvements in the existing methods. The experiments in Mysore that he contemplated in connection with the growth of long stapled cotton might have brought to light more definite results, and perhaps strengthened the

favourable results arrived at through experiments at the Government farm at Nagpur, where Mr. Tata's suggestion of raising the crop as a *rabi* crop and not as a *kharif* crop was carried out. Whatever may have been the outcome of Mr. Tata's experiments his pamphlet at any rate served to indicate the greatness of his mind, which, not content with present gains, thought of the future prosperity of the country and suggested ways in which it could be promoted.

But time has proved the best vindicator of Mr. Tata's insight. An important press note was issued by the Bombay Government, only a few months hence on the subject of the cultivation of Egyptian cotton in Sind, containing extracts from the Report of the Director of Agriculture and a Government Resolution on these extracts. It appears from this press note that the cultivation of Egyptian cotton could be successfully undertaken in Sind and that such cultivation promises a most useful development in the povince for the future. But not a word appeared in the

Resolution alluding to the laudable efforts of one who was far in advance of his times.

The pamphlet was a sort of commentary on the apathy of the rest of his countrymen, who obsorbed in their own immediate interests were incapable of even appreciating the value of Mr. Tata's suggestions; and now that the healthy presence of his active mind is gone from us, the question of growing long stapled cotton will be a question of experiments in Government farms at the most. It will be a question of academic discussion amongst experts; it will afford scope for a pretty long dissertation in a supplement to the Dictionary of Economic Products. Its vital connection with the interests of the country, which Mr. Tata so vividly realised while he lived, will disappear with his death; and while many will talk like him, there is hardly one in the whole country who will act like him, and sacrifice money and energy, body and mind, in the pioneer work of a new enterprise.

But it was not Egyptian cotton alone that engaged Mr. Tata's attention with reference to the question of the capacities of Indian soil;

American cotton also now and again swimmed within the ken of his vision; and, as late as 1903, he came out with a pamphlet of extracts from an American publication on cotton culture. It was intended to enlighten those of his countrymen who were endeavouring to grow American cotton seed in India; it was a kind of training that he was giving to his countrymen in this fashion, a training that might enable them to become aware of the dominant factors in the cotton industry that were to govern the future, and thus to place themselves in a position of advantage in the coming, and even already raging, struggle. It was the prophet of the future, pointing out to the multitude the land of milk and honey, which they would gain through the conditions he had so clearly indicated.

The Tata whom we have been considering up to now is the Tata who succeeded in carrying through the pioneer enterprise that he had undertaken from his early years; it is the successful career of the mill-owner and organiser that we have traced so far. There are two more important significant movements

which require to be noticed before we have done with this—one of the most important aspects of his life.

The first movement that we have to notice is usually known as the war of freights. It was a war carried on between Mr. Tata and the Japanese Steamship Company, known as the Nippon Yusen Kaisha on the one hand and the combined organisation of the European Companies—the formidable Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, the Austrian Lloyd's Company and the Italian Rubattino Company. These three latter had combined to secure a monopoly of the freight on goods between India, China and Japan. It was under the guidance and guarantee of Messrs. Tata and Sons that the Nippon Yusen Kaisha in 1893 determined to carry cotton and yarn at Rs. 13 a ton against Rs. 17 charged by the P. & O. and the allied companies. The latter, bent on killing out the movement by an artificial reduction of rates, retaliated by reducing their own rates to the nominal figure of Rs. 2 a ton, and subsequently to one Rupee. It was a critical time

for the Nippon Yusen Kaisha but it kept firm, and was supported by the Japanese Government in this firm attitude. Mr. Tata on his side came out with a pamphlet in which he appealed to the public throughout the English-speaking world against the injustice of the three allied companies, and carried his agitation against the triumvirate even to the Parliament in England. The struggle against such heavy odds at length resulted in Mr. Tata's success. The P. & O. Company and their associates abandoned their nominal rates, and raised them to those of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha. Having done his part of the task so nobly as agent of the Japanese Company, Mr. Tata withdrew from the work; and the Japanese Company in 1896, launched out for themselves, and opened their own office in Bombay. The direct benefits which accrued to the public, and to the mill industry in particular, were due to the enterprise of the firm of Tata & Co., who personally shared in the undertaking and succeeded by perseverance and agitation in breaking down an invidious and unjust combination. It is true that the

Japanese could well have afforded from the beginning to run their ships at a lower cost than other Companies, with the advantage of cheap coal and cheaper labour; but without the help they received through the enterprise of the Bombay Parsee firm they could not have managed to beat down the opposition and obstruction of their rivals in the field. The cheapness in freights which resulted from this struggle has not only promoted the import of cotton alone, but has incidentally led to the development of the trade in coal and copper with Japan.

The other movement that remains to be noticed was the endeavour made by Mr. Tata to secure skilled labourers for the Bombay mills, who would not periodically shift from place to place, thereby dislocating the successful working of the mills. The men, who were generally employed in the Bombay Mills on the manufacture of finer kinds of goods, and who were trained after some difficulties to their duties, which required skill, would not stick to their work for a long period, and frequently, before they acquired the neces-

sary aptitude for their technical work, left for their native place, where they had their land to till. Mr. Tata came out, as early as 1893, with a pamphlet on the subject and, proposed that the mills should employ labourers from places like Cawnpore who would have no temptation to shift from their work at periodical intervals. The question was taken up by the Mill-owners Association in 1897, but owing to a number of causes the experiment did not meet with any remarkable success. It was the time of plague, when the ravages of the disease in Bombay had created an unparalleled havoc amongst the lower classes; and the men who were brought from upper India soon found their way back to their homes. What was more, the men who were brought out were *budmashes*, the scum of the labouring class, who, even had they remained in Bombay, would not have answered to the expectations entertained about them.

But the successful mill-owner and the pioneer of the cotton industry does not exhaust the Mr. Tata of actual history; and we have now to notice his activity in other

industrial spheres. The silk industry of India was once upon a time a flourishing industry, and Indian silk commanded as good a reputation in the world's market as does the Chinese or the Japanese silk at the present day. Even as late as the times of Hyder and Tipoo, the State of Mysore found one of the most fruitful sources of its revenues in the culture of the silk-worm. But a variety of causes tended to stop the development of the industry, and though the silk trade continued to be carried on in various parts of the country, it practically died out as a large industry. The system of work employed in our own days by the native cultivators of Mysore has been found to be so primitive and inefficient that there can be no surprise if the industry has practically ceased to maintain an export trade, and is hardly sufficient for local purposes. The Mysore sericulturist still employs the process of boiling the cocoons for destroying the worms, instead of the more scientific process of destroying them by the application of dry heat, with the natural result that the staple deteriorates in value. The system of reeling is

equally unsound and adds to the depreciation in the value of the silk. Experts have estimated that the deterioration thus resulting from the employment of primitive processes amounts to so much as 40 to 45%. Mr. Tata's keen eye grasped the main features of the problem, and he began to set himself to work out a regeneration of the silk industry in Mysore. He realised that the climate of Mysore was specially favourable for the propagation of the silk-worm, and the large number of old mulberry trees, scattered throughout the various districts of Mysore, pointed out to him the circumstance that the tree was an indigenous plant suited to the soil and hardly requiring artificial help for its growth. He observed that the caterpillars throve immensely without any care or attention, wherever food was available for them. He concluded that the silk industry in Mysore would have a brilliant future before it, if only the native cultivators could be taught to appreciate the value of improved processes, with reference to the culture of the mulberry, the breeding of the worms, the destruction of the worms in the

cocoons and the reeling of the silk thread amongst other things.

But how was this idea to be carried out? How were the old-fashioned cultivators to have their eyes opened to the usefulness of improvements on their traditional method? Mr. Tata proposed to call in an expert from Japan for this purpose, who might be placed in charge of an experimental silk farm to be started in the Mysore territory under facilities offered by the Mysore Government. Native cultivators might be selected by the Government or otherwise, and they might receive the necessary training in the farm as apprentices. The world has always preferred to hoot down and crown with abuses its best men, and Mr. Tata could not be exempt from his share of obloquy. The proposal to call a Japanese expert was soon magnified into a proposal to call in a whole colony of Japanese cultivators who were to elbow aside the unfortunate native cultivators of Mysore, and to exploit the resources of the land with the aid of foreign capital. A bold step in the interest of an uncared for class of artisans was transformed

into an interested and fatal move, which was to end by adding a number of expert foreigners to the population already burdening the soil "O, Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee!"

Well, the expert from Japan—the single solitary expert and not the host of experts of the popular imagination—has been called; an experimental farm has been started near Bangalore under the recognition and moral support of the Mysore Government, and the results have been so far uniformly hopeful. The silk produced under the new methods is decidedly superior to the silk produced by the native cultivators, and sells at a decidedly higher price in the London markets. The machinery involved in the application of the new methods is of the simplest kind, and is within the reach of the cultivators on the principle of co-operation. A number of cultivators and other youths have been taken in as apprentices at the farm, and are regularly initiated into the use of the new processes. Already the native cultivators think it better to sell their ripe cocoons to the experimental

farm than to draw the silk for themselves. The time seems to be drawing nigh when with the help of a sympathetic native Government the new processes can be applied on a large scale, and the experimental farm transformed into a thriving and extended business. Even the slow moving Imperial Department of Agriculture has recognised the value of the farm; the Government of India have sanctioned the establishment of a silk farm at Pusa, which is to be managed on the lines of Mr. Tata's farm; and several men were expressly sent to Bangalore by the Inspector-General of Agriculture to receive the necessary training in Japanese methods. If ever the silk industry of Mysore again becomes a flourishing staple of commerce and assumes an extensive development, the credit of it will necessarily go to the man who so energetically came forward to help it in a period of public indifference, and who set it on the right basis when it would have died out altogether the clumsy treatment of clumsier methods.

From silk to mining was a large step, but it was an easy transition for a mind of

Mr. Tata's type. It would be an interesting topic to describe the successive steps by which Mr. Tata was led to entertain the project of opening iron mining works in Central Provinces; but a sense of proportion forbids us from such an attempt. The presence of iron of an excellent quality in the district of Chandan in the Central Provinces was referred to, as early as 1862, by Sir Richard Temple, in his first administration report. Since that time the attention of qualified experts was frequently drawn to these iron regions, and the most favourable opinions were pronounced. One of them, Major Mahon, wrote in 1873 referring to the Lohara ore, "I have never seen anything equal to the massive richness of the pure black specular ore heaped up in huge rocks which constitute the lode." He thought that at least two millions of tons of ore were available from the hill where the main lode lies. It has been ascertained that the ore contains 67 per cent to 70 per cent. of iron—a proportion higher even than that which can be obtained by the laboratory produced compound. In addition to Lohara,

four other districts, equally promising, have been discovered in the same provinces.

The natives have been endeavouring to work up a part of this ore in their own primitive fashion, but with results extremely unsatisfactory. The attention of the Government having been drawn to these districts, an attempt was made by them to work up the ore with charcoal, but it was soon proved impracticable and the works had to be closed in the early eighties of the last century. It was found impracticable to use charcoal, except as an accessory and in small quantities. Charcoal having proved unworkable, coal was had recourse to, and a project was discussed with reference to the ores being worked with the help of the Warrora Colliery Works in 1876. The experiments in connection with the project carried on by Mr. Ness are interesting, as confirming the hopes which Mr. Tata later on entertained with reference to the successful working of the mines. With the help of the Pittburg process of making steel he ascertained that steel of an extraordinary excellence could be produced with the Warrora coal.

The results were so favourable that Government decided to spend £25,000 in small works and furnaces to make a start. But the Afghan War broke out and Government found itself unable to apply its funds to the scheme. The scheme thus abandoned was never afterwards taken up; and, in 1894, the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces declared that the future of the iron industry in Chanda must be left to private enterprise.

And private enterprise was not long in coming. Mr. Tata's mind had been from an early time directed to the existence of the iron ores, and he had an important share in the experiments in smelting iron with Warrora coal which had been carried on under Government direction. He now came forward to see for himself the practicability of working the coal in connection with the iron, and experts in Germany and America were consulted. The difficulties of working with inferior coal were removed owing to the progress recently made in the method of coking. Government apathy was for once rudely shaken by the promise of the Secretary of State to help

Mr. Tata to the best of his abilities; and a visit to England, which led to the Secretary of State's promised support just referred to was also instrumental in arranging for a syndicate to be formed in the future for the organisation of the enterprise. A scheme for a trial plant costing about £ 30,000, and intended to work for a few months, was projected; and a second visit to the continent was made in 1902, with a special view to studying the conditions of the project and investigating the methods of success. All the preliminaries were settled, and the final results of experiments carried on in America were awaited, when death carried away the life and soul of the movement.

The report of the experts duly came, it had endorsed a favourable—an extremely favourable—verdict for the success of the iron mines, and the works were soon after be opened by private enterprise without even Government guarantee. The sons of Mr. Tata have followed in the wake of their father, and a syndicate has been formed consisting mostly of English capitalists for carrying

out the project. A large local demand for steel is said to exist in the country, and the development of the industry might give a great impetus to the development of cognate enterprises in other parts of India. Whatever be the future of the iron mining industry in the country, there can be no hesitation in saying that it will have been mainly indebted for its development to the energetic action of the Parsee millionaire of Bombay. It was he who reduced an academic and abstract question to a question of practical and immediate interest; it was he who transported it from the cloud-land of imagination to the solid earth, and from a theoretic basis set it on a thoroughly scientific groundwork. And though others may gain the credit of starting the enterprise, they will have done nothing more than exploiting for themselves the materials which Mr. Tata's action placed within their reach. So it was when the labours of Tronchet and the Revolution Lawyers received the appellation of the *Code Napoleon*, so it will be when a feature Iron Mining Company works the resources of the

Central Provinces which Mr. Tata's endeavours first made accessible.

In his later years Mr. Tata had in mind also a scheme for converting water power into electric power at Lanowla, which would have had a great deal of influence in the development of the projects for working electric trams, and for electric lighting in Bombay. The project was evidently suggested to him by observation of the successful working of the electric works at the Cauvery Falls in Mysore, which supplied electric power to the Kolar Gold Mines and were soon to supply electric lighting to Bangalore. The practicability of the scheme was fully demonstrated after his death, when his sons carried out the idea. The scheme has been floated, and put on a working basis ; and application has been made to the local Government to give to the Company the powers and privileges necessary to carry it out. It is needless to point out here the obvious advantages of a cheap supply of electric power both to industry and to private comforts.

His building enterprise in and outside the island of Bombay is another noticeable feature

in his varied life. The many large buildings in the Fort, and on the Appollo Bunder, with the latest sanitary improvements and comforts, bear witness amongst other things to his activity in this direction. They provide a long felt want for the better classes, and combine all the comforts of a residence out of the city with the advantages of residing near the centre of business. Attempts have frequently been made to depreciate the value of such buildings, on the plea that they only provide for the comforts of the upper classes, for whose use alone they are meant. Whatever be the cogency of such pleas, there can be no doubt that the purpose for which they have been built has been successfully carried out, and they add to the beauties of beautiful Bombay.

Looking for a moment to the same activity as it displayed itself outside the city of Bombay, we find Mr. Tata during the last years of his life, busy with a scheme for providing comfortable residences for the middle and lower middle classes of the city, in the Salsette island, in the immediate vicinity of Bandra. A large area has been purchased,

and comfortable and airy blocks have been built to the number of more than ten, providing accommodation each for a number of families. Metalled roads cross and recross, connecting the blocks with one another and with the high roads. We are told Mr. Tata was thinking of having a separate market for his new colony, and providing other comforts for the residents. The rents have been kept sufficiently low to enable the lower middle classes to take advantage of the opportunity. Those who, only keeping in view his building enterprise in the city itself, are inclined to assert that he did nothing for the question of the housing of the poor, entirely neglect the kind of work that he did in the vicinity of Bandra. Not only so, but when Government levied building fines on agricultural land in the Thana district, he it was, who fought in the interests of all house-owners and the large classes of men, who had taken advantage of such suburban residences, and represented to Government the inadvisability of thus checking the growth of a movement which was so important for the sanitary interests of Bombay

and its people. In view of the fact that the expansion of Bombay in the future depended upon that of its suburbs, he saw that every possible encouragement required to be given to building enterprise in those suburbs; and with that broad object before him, he set to work by planting a new colony of buildings, whose success might stimulate others.

But by far the largest space in his building enterprise is occupied by the erection of the Taj Mahal Hotel on the Apollo Bunder. This is not the place to enter into the details of this magnificent monument of his building activities; suffice it to say that the Hotel stands unrivalled for its comforts as the Hotel in India and even over Asia. The climatic inconveniences of a tropical city like Bombay have been mitigated as far as possible by the contrivances and situation of this *premier* palace. It commands a beautiful outlook on both sides to the sea, and the fresh breezes blowing to and fro leave a part of their blessings for the residents of the Hotel. The latest inventions for human comfort, good lighting, cool air, best food are provided for, along

with what is a novelty for India—a Turkish bath. For European visitors to India, accustomed to the comforts of the continental hotels, Bombay's two or three minor hotels left a great many things to be desired; and it is these desiderata that the Taj supplies to the full. Even in the hottest season none can now say that Bombay life is unpleasant, if he stays in the Taj.

There remains now one more feature, and that the most important, of Mr. Tata's life to be noticed. It refers to his faith in education, and the efforts that he made in the cause of education. In 1891 he organised a scheme by which Parsee youths could be sent to England, to qualify themselves for the higher branches of learning, or to compete either for the Indian Civil Service or the Indian Medical Service Examinations. He set apart a fund for that purpose, out of which advances were to be made to those who took advantage of the scheme, and which they were to return by instalments, when they had settled in good positions in the country. This fund was soon thrown open to Indians in general,

and many have taken advantage of a facility which the broad views of the Parsee merchant placed within their reach. The impress which higher education had made on his own mind had never left him, and he believed that Western education and Western training in the sciences and the higher branches of learning, which Indians might thus receive, would be highly instrumental in the development and the material progress of the country.

This idea assumed a more tangible, and a more significant shape, when a few years before his death he first thought of establishing a Research University for India. The scheme and the amount of endowment promised by Mr. Tata on his own behalf was announced on the 28th of September, 1898. But long before it was announced, Mr. Tata had consulted educational experts in Europe and America, and through the specially appointed Secretary of the Institute, Mr. B. J. Padshah, had made the patient and preliminary investigations which, in his case, always preceded the formation of definite projects. The right man had been hit upon in the person of Mr. Padshah,

a choice singularly felicitous in all ways; and after a careful study of the research institutions in England and on the Continent, the project was definitely put before the public in 1898. The scheme in its first form proposed the establishment of a post-graduate university for all India, independent of the local universities, and under Government legislation conferring degrees and diplomas of its own, on students who came up to the required standard of attainments. A scheme of studies was recommended which included three representative branches of knowledge: (1) Scientific and Technical Department (2) Medical Department and (3) Philosophical and Educational Department. Mr. Tata proposed on his own part to place at the disposal of the Institute or University, property to the extent of Rs. 30,00,000 on certain conditions. But as it was found that the successful working of the whole scheme would involve an initial expenditure of about 15 lakhs of Rupees and an annual charge of about 3 lakhs, a provisional committee was appointed to secure the

necessary financial support by making a general appeal for funds, and to take the preliminary steps in connection with the scheme. A deputation of the Provisional Committee waited on Lord Curzon in January 1899, taking advantage of His Excellency's presence in Bombay, to lay before him the scheme of the proposed University, and to appeal to him for the help and co-operation of the Imperial Government in connection therewith. The deputation requested His Excellency to lend the support of his Government in facilitating the work of special legislation which the University would require, to lend his moral support to the scheme by a general approval of its ultimate designs, and if possible to lend a material support in the way of a grant to the institution from the Imperial treasury. Lord Curzon promised to do his best, and soon afterwards negotiations were set on foot for the carrying out of the scheme.

But it was soon found that the support which Mr. Tata expected either from the Government of India, or the Native Princes, or private benevolence was not so rapidly forth-

coming; and that though appreciation of the scheme in word and on paper was abundant and overflowing, there was a general indifference when it came to a question of putting one's hand into one's purse. The Mysore Government showed its willingness to devote a fund of about five lakhs and a half of Rupees which they had at their disposal to the purposes of the scheme on certain conditions; but that was the only solitary exception—the only oasis in the bleak, unfruitful desert of Indian public apathy. It was found that the scheme in its entirety could not be started, and accordingly Prof. Ramsay, who was called specially to report on the practicability of the scheme, reduced it to an institute for research work in the experimental sciences. He hit upon Bangalore as the site for the proposed University owing to its climatic advantages, and owing to the facilities which the Mysore Government promised. The scheme was further modified by the report which Prof. Masson and Colonel Clibborn made in 1901. They proposed Roorkee as a site preferable to Bangalore, if monetary considerations did not

come in the way; and they further reduced the scope of the scheme as framed by Prof. Ramsay by proposing to do without a professor of Technology during the initial stages of the University. The Post-Graduate University, therefore, in its final stage attained the shape of an Institute for Researches in certain definite experimental sciences, closely connected with Indian industries.

Late in the day the Gondal State came forward with a comparatively meagre offer to support the Institute provided it was located in its own territories. It was an offer that gave occasion to the Rev. Dr. Mackichan's appeal to the citizens of Bombay to come forward with a liberal donation in support of a movement so pregnant of promises. The conditions, however, with which the offer of the Gondal State was saddled, were too impracticable to be complied with; and the appeal of Dr. Mackichan fell on indifferent hearts. The Indians have shown that they are ever ready to speak proudly of their national sentiments and to grow jubilant over the cry of Swadeshism; but all their pride ends where it begins, *viz.*,—in

speech; and a project than which none else can promote better the cause of Swadeshism has found not a single supporter amongst the thousands of the so-called patriots.

But public indifference was not the only difficulty which the scheme had to encounter. The slow moving machinery of the Indian Government could not be made to work faster for the sake of the proposed Institute, and difficulties arose in the course of negotiations, which have not yet been finally settled. The Government expressed its willingness to make an initial grant of Rs. 2,50,000 and an annual grant of a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,50,000, on conditions which involved that the valuation of the trust property as made by their own officer should be accepted as the basis of calculation. The choice of a principal for the Institute fell on Mr. Travers, a well-known scientist who was recommended to Mr. Tata by his distinguished friend, Prof. Ramsay.

Let us now bring this short, and we fear inadequate, sketch to a close. Ill-health had for some time been undermining Mr. Tata's

strength, and he was advised to go to the Continent. During his stay at Nauhiem in Germany he was suddenly prostrated on what was to prove his death bed, and on Thursday, 19th May, 1904, passed off to "that bourne from which no traveller returns."

Peace, peace! he is not dead, he doth not sleep!
He hath awakened from the dream of life.
'Tis we who lost in stormy visions, keep
With phantoms and unprofitable strife,
And in mad trance strike with our spirits' knife
Invulnerable nothings.

Such was the end of this remarkable Indian, cut off in the midst of life at the age of 65, with his greatest projects still incomplete and carrying to the grave with him the many-sided activities of his life. For, it may be possible to find hereafter an Indian millionaire with the business tact of Mr. Tata. It may be easy to find many who will have as broad conceptions as Mr. Tata, but without that energy or intellect which enabled him so easily to pass from ideas to facts. What is, however, difficult to obtain

again for many a year is a man of Mr. Tata's type, with the combination of head and heart with all the manifold versatility of character that distinguished him in his actions. For throughout the career of this man we find the most practical insight into business combined with the largest ideas and the broadest conceptions, a readiness to seize the passing opportunity combined with the most venturesome spirit of enterprise, an intellect capable of grasping the minutest details along with the most abstract principles. In him the reality of life and success in it were too earnest beliefs to be ever lost sight of for a moment, yet they were not left entirely unsupplemented by a tinge of idealism, a belief in a liberal education and in the scientific training imparted by the higher studies. A keen aesthetic taste for the beautiful, the poetic eye of an artist, subsisted side by side with the prosaic capacities of a great manufacturer and a successful merchant. It is this combination of so many opposite, yet really reconcilable qualities, which makes him a unique man, reminding us more of the Greeks of old, than

anything else. Their versatility, their well balanced temperament, their well-proportioned development which, reconciled—or, for the matter of that, never called into question, the contrast between the material and the spiritual, the theoretical and the practical, the bodily and the mental,—all this is to be found in the life of this typical Greek of modern times. Who knows but that this may be a flash-light in the chronological horizon reminding us by its brightness of a truth which is often neglected and never sufficiently thought upon,—a truth which Mr. Kincaid, in an article in the *East & West*, expresses when he states that the Parsees as a race have been moulded since early times by Hellenic ideas and Hellenic civilization!

No great man has ever travelled life's paths without unconsciously raising enemies behind him, and so it happened with Mr. Tata. There have been many, who have questioned the disinterestedness of Mr. Tata's actions, and doubted the usefulness of his life for the country in general. They ask, "Where is the usefulness of a life that has been absorbed in

the development of a personal fortune through an alert and enterprising spirit?" No one would indeed make bold to say that the energies of Mr. Tata were not devoted to the making of his own personal fortune. But if it is good to venture on the development of an industry which has hitherto no history and life, if it is meritorious in well-advanced industries to strike out improvements and adopt new methods, which involve large sacrifices of immediate gains, and which have been hitherto neglected, and if it is meritorious to venture on unfrequented paths with the view that they may lead to unexpected benefits for the country at large,—and this even at the risk of personal loss,—Mr. Tata's life was decidedly useful and meritorious. That Mr. Tata did not take an active part in the Congress movement has been construed into a want of sympathy with it, and turned into a crime. That he did not actively join in purely political agitation has been interpreted into total indifference on his part to the interests of his country. It has been averred that his whole life had been absorbed in the selfish pursuits of money-making, that

the patriot and the citizen of a wider world was lost in the business man and the capitalist. Is there any need to try and answer these flimsy charges? Is it necessary to show that the capital successfully in the development of old industries and in the organisation of new ones, though benefitting himself in the first place, does benefit equally his country at large?

What is more important is to note that if it is necessary for the future welfare of India that her predominating agricultural organisation should be gradually supplemented by an industrial organisation, the man who employs his powers, his brain and his capital alike in the development of such industries is as true a patriot as any other. Mr. Tata not only developed the old industries already existing in his time, he not only endeavoured to regenerate—if not regenerated—a few which were dying out through the stagnant conservatism of methods and processes, like industry of Mysore; but he also opened the eyes of his countrymen, for the first time, to the existence of mineral resources like iron

and copper, which if properly worked, would give India a first place in the rank of wealthy countries. It would indeed be a queer use of the word patriot which refused to include in its scope a man of this stamp, with the record of life that he had to show for himself. Even the application of foreign capital in the development of Indian industries has been frequently approved of, in view of the fact that an industrial era for the country would mean a new lease of life to the nation. How much more, therefore, should that appoval extend to the enterprising Indian millionaire who would obviate the necessity for the influx of such foreign capital! Mr. Tata's use of his talents has entitled him to be called the "good and faithful servant" of the Prophet's parable; of him it may well be said that he shall "enter into the joy of his Lord;" for unto every one "that hath" there is promised abundance.

But it was not only to the development and organisation of industries that Mr. Tata's energies were confined. He went further and endeavoured to produce men for India, who with their scientific and technological attain-

ments would make it their life-business to organise new industries and evolve new combinations of old industries. Struck by the example of Japan, he desired to see Indians attaining to the highest scientific knowledge of the West, and prepared to utilise it for practical applications in the interests of their own country. It was with this end in view that he had endowed scholarships for Indians, which might enable them to qualify themselves for any of the higher branches of knowledge and science; it was with this view that he proposed the magnificent endowment of 30 lakhs for a Research University. It was to be an *ecole polytechnique* on the largest scale, where the future secretaries of future Tatas were to receive that training which would enable them to carry on and complete the work, which Mr. Tata commenced in his life-time—the work of remodelling the economic conditions of old India.

The University scheme has been frequently run down as unpractical—the imaginative dream of a theorist and ideologist. It has been denounced by the Parsees, on the all-

convincing plea that the cosmopolitan nature of the charity renders its use and benefit to Parsees insignificant. Its utility has been questioned even by those educated sections of Indian public opinion, who proposed in the Congress of 1899 to omit a vote of thanks to Mr. Tata for the magnificence of his gift. It has been treated with superciliousness by the Indian Government and its leaders, who, Western as they are, might have been expected to welcome with enthusiasm a project for the dissemination of Western knowledge. It has evoked no practical enthusiasm from the Indian public except the lip-sympathy and the lip-enthusiasm so cheap and so pleasant both to the giver and the receiver. Launched forth at an unfortunate point of time, the scheme has been buffeted by the waves hither and thither, tossed from headland to headland, battered down by striking against rocks and rubbing against the sandy depths. There is little wonder if prophets of evil have cried out that it will soon perish and be engulfed by an untimely fate in the waters of eternity, from which nothing human escapes in the end.

And though that prophecy of evil is not likely to be fulfilled, the scheme will not escape disfigurement at impure hands. Profaned at the touch and by the handling of less sympathetic and more prosaic brains, mangled and tortured out of its original harmony, it will be carried out in the future under the ægis of Government support and control. Not that private control is always to be preferred to Government control. In the case of the Bombay University semi-independence of Government control, such as it hitherto enjoyed, did not enable it to move with the times and shake off its stagnant conservatism. Independence, however, of Government support in such a case would mean the absence of those routine methods, which would be so particularly fatal to the working of a scheme like the present.

But the Research University Scheme will at any rate bear evidence to the greatness of the mind that conceived it, and of the heart that materially supported it by such liberal and handsome gift. It is not every man who has the mind to put forth before the world such great ideas,—much less the practical business-

bred man with his narrow grooves of thought and action. The two sisters of Bethany ordinarily represent two types of life, the one represents the life of the majority of men—living, struggling, fuming under self-imposed tasks, constituting life by small additions, and gathering an empiric wisdom that looks back on the beginning from the end; the other represents that rarer type of persons who instead of spelling the little syllables of existence interpret for us its great meaning, and are endowed with that reflective insight, that discerns the end from the beginning. If it is possible to find in things of material interest a combination of those qualities which in the spiritual sphere are represented by Martha and Mary, a combination of patient study of details with the soaring flight of bold ideas and conceptions, it is found in the organizer of the Research University Scheme. That thorough faith which Mr. Tata had in the possibility of the regeneration of the country through Western sciences, which peeps forth in every detail of the University proposal, has been realised and proved at any

rate in the case of Japan; but even if it were not so proved, the scheme with its offer of substantial help proclaimed that India had one man, who in spite of all that his enemies said against him, was a patriot and more than a patriot.

And now that he is sleeping calmly in his grave at Brookwood may we not address to him the poet's sympthetic words ?

" Now is done thy long day's work;
Fold thy palms across thy breast,
Fold thine arms, turn to thy rest.
Let them rave.

Shadows of the silver birk
Sweep the green that folds thy grave.
Let them rave.

Wild words wander here and there;
God's great gift of speech abused
Makes thy memory confused:
But let them rave.

The balm-cricket carols clear
In the green that folds thy grave.
Let them rave.

The introduction of machinery into a land of old fashioned industries must necessarily be attended with temporary displacement of existing labouring interests; and so it frequently happened in the life of Mr. Tata. He was frequently abused for thus neglecting the interests of particular classes; he has been even abused by his own Parsees for not doing anything in particular for his own race. We wish history had preserved for us the story of the Luddite riots of the Naosari *Goranis*, the wives of the local Parsee priests, when their much esteemed townsman proposed to introduce an American machine for weaving *Kushtis*. Yet the abuses showered on the man who threatened to take away from their control a trade, monopolised for such a long time and sanctified by sacred traditions, were typical of those showered on him on a larger scale by his co-religionists and by his fellow-countrymen in general, when inspired by motives which we need not ascertain, they endeavoured to belittle his work and impeach its usefulness.

The cry has frequently been raised that Mr. Tata did nothing by way of charity in the interests of the poor and the down-trodden millions. But charity need not necessarily be confined to helping those who are helpless and starving. Mr. Tata all his life long believed that such schemes ultimately degenerate into institutions for feeding the lazy and encouraging idleness and guilt. The march of modern civilisation has always been at the expense and sacrifice of large classes of beings, who are either incompetent to struggle or too weak to survive. It has been a process of weeding, which leaves only healthy plants to grow and develop. Mr. Tata was impressed with this idea, and his life's aim was to help on the regeneration of India by helping those elements of Indian life, which still displayed symptoms of vitality, and leaving the rest to take care of themselves, to live or die. He was one of those who believed, like Renan, in the prosperity and well-being of a chosen race which involved, and involved inevitably the sacrifice of the rest, one of those whom the poet denounces as "proud and heart swollen",

and "ready with a broom in their hands to rid the world of nuisances." This way of looking at things may be repugnant to the human heart which shudders at the anomalous sufferings of helpless creatures; it is repugnant to the philosopher who surveys the universe from a height, and for whom the idea of progress and civilisation is lost in the eternal nothingness. It is repugnant to the poet for whom

"*'Tis nature's law*
That none the meanest of created things,
Should exist divorced from food."

But it has its own place in the universe of ideas, and such men have their functions in the universal economy. Division of work has been found useful in the production of material wealth; let there be also division of labour in the case of charities, so that the work left undone by a Howard and a Florence Nightingale, a Jamshedji Jeejeebhoy and a Raja Ram Mohun Roy, may be done all the more effectively by a Tata.

Such was the life of Mr. J. N. Tata, judged by what he did and what he proposed to do. His was not the life of the philosophic thinker,

who merely dreams away his existence in beautiful visions of his country's spiritual welfare; not the life of the political agitator who talks ever so enthusiastically, but only talks away the abstract benefits of political rights and political privileges.

His was the quiet, unselfish life of a thorough man of business, who understood the needs of his country, and whilst working for himself worked energetically and enthusiastically for supplying his country's needs. He had all his life one settled conviction that for leading the "good life" which the world's greatest political philosopher assigned to the state as its end, it was essential that India should "merely" live in the first place; and for that physical life, for success in the struggle for existence, it needed a development of her resources. Such development of resources Mr. Tata made the object of his life, whether directly through his own endeavours or indirectly through the training of Indian youths in Western sciences under the ægis of his Research [Institute.]

If Byramji Malabari sought to bring the East and the West together in the sphere of thought, Mr. Tata endeavoured to achieve the same end in practice by teaching the usefulness of the application of Western sciences and Western industrial processes to the East. And if the friends of Mr. Malabari were reminded by his life of the life of Francis of Assissi, the friends of Mr. J. N. Tata might not unreasonably speak of an Indian Columbus discovering to his countrymen a vast continent of yet unexplored resources and undisturbed industrial wealth, which might be utilised for the advancement of the material and spiritual interests of the Indian nation. Those resources were lying scattered, like the body of Osiris, in a thousand directions over the land; and Isis had inspired Mr. Tata to wander in quest of them till they should be "gathered limb to limb and moulded into an immortal feature of loveliness and perfection."

The visitor to Mr. Tata's Taj Mahal Hotel in Bombay, as he ascends storey after storey of the building commands a beautiful view of

the harbour of Bombay to the East, and island after island swims into his ken which he did not notice before; so likewise with the life of the founder of the Hotel himself. As we trace his remarkable career, island after island of the undiscovered material resources of India swim into our vision, bearing evidence to the energy and greatness of the great Captain of industries.

The memory of his personality is perhaps too vividly before our eyes to admit of a sound historical judgment on his life and his life's work; and a future biographer of Mr. J. N. Tata will appreciate his influence on his age and country with better effect:

"*His triumph will be sung*
By some yet unmoulded tongue
Far on in summers that we shall not see."

The twilight of his doings and sayings has not yet completely faded, and the shadows mingle too inextricably with the light to admit of an incisive demarcation of objects. With the brighter dawn of history, let us hope, the personality of Mr. J. N. Tata will grow and not lose in brightness and influence.

CONCLUSION

The fore-going sketch was prepared for the "Indian worthies" series by Mr. Pestonji A. Wadia. To this we must add the following as a fitting conclusion.

Mr. Tata did not live to see the fruits of his work but it comforts one to know that his sons followed up his ideas with singular devotion, brought to completion his most important projects guided by an instinct for organising, which was like their father's. Judging, from the progress made during the few years these institutions have been in existence, one is warranted in assuming that the projects will, in course of time, produce very encouraging results which would at once commemorate the great founder's name and advance the country's industries. The extreme difficulties of various kinds which Mr. Tata had to face at the time of inception of every one of his undertakings and the way in which each was overcome, bring before us the marvellous genius Tata had which rightly made him the pioneer builder of Industries in a country like India where industries came to be nowhere. The

life-work of Mr. Tata is a sustained demonstration of what enterprise and courage prompted, of course, by a genuine patriotism can do for a country even so fallen as ours. The glowing encomiums whether for his character or his industrial genius or his daring patriotism that came pouring in when the news went out that Tata died, bear an ample testimony to his unique worth.

Soon after Mr. Tata's death on the 19th May 1904, at Nanheim, a requisition was addressed to the Sheriff of Bombay by numerous representatives and leading citizens, to convene a public meeting to do honour to his memory. The meeting was accordingly held on the 28th of March 1905, under the distinguished presidentship of H. E. Lord Lamington, the Governor of Bombay. The Hon. Sir Lawrence Jenkins, Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, who knew Mr. Tata intimately, moved a resolution expressing the deep sense of the heavy loss sustained by All-India, especially Bombay, in the death of Mr. J. N. Tata. The resolution was seconded by the late Justice B. Tyabji and supported by

Sir Balachandra Krishna and Sir N. G. Chandavarkar. The Rev. Dr. Mackichan, the late Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, moved that a strong and influential committee be appointed for the purpose of raising subscriptions for a suitable memorial to perpetuate the memory of the great man.

A big and thoroughly representative committee was then formed and donations came pouring in from all parts of India. A meeting of the subscribers was afterwards held at the precincts of the Bombay Municipal Corporation on August 9, 1906, when the accounts showed a collection of Rs. 46,243. It was thereupon resolved to raise a good and well-made statue of the late Mr. Tata. In the course of a speech at the unveiling of the statue on 11th April 1912, H. E. Lord Sydenham, then Governor of Bombay, said "Mr. Tata's three greatest schemes are beginning to bear fruit. The first production of steel at the magnificently equipped works, at Sakchi, has been effected. . . in other words, the manufacture of steel of the best quality from Indian ore is now assured. . . . The first session of the fine

Institute of Science at Bangalore has been commenced. The work of the hydro-electric project is advancing rapidly and smoothly towards completion. We may, therefore, feel that we are commemorating the great achievements of Mr. Tata just at the time when they have passed into a stage of successful accomplishment." Indeed in him, as His Excellency pointed out, the scientific use of the imagination was happily combined with an infinite power of patriotic endeavour. Thus "the application of the spirit of the West to meet the needs of the East has found a stout exponent in Mr. Tata."

SIR DINSHAW EDULJI WACHA

SIR DINSHAW EDULJI WACHA, the distinguished Parsee leader and publicist has already turned his four score years and six, but if India were given a Parliament to-morrow he would undoubtedly be the one man whom a plebiscitum would vote Chancellor of the Exchequer. Coming of the small race of Parsee exiles who had settled in Bombay some ten centuries ago, his activities have not been confined to his race alone. From his early days he has been devoting his great talents to the service of the land of the domicile of the exiled community but which is now the land of their birth as well. His colleague and friend, the late Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta, used to say that he was an Indian first, and a Parsee afterwards, a title to which Sir Dinshaw can lay claim with equal justice. Among the public men of the last generation no three men have done as much for the peaceful political evolution of the country as Mr.

Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Sir D. E. Wacha. The splendid opportunities for active, beneficent public service and the undoubted facilities that came in the way of Dadabhai Naoroji are given to few; so too, the massive intellect, the dazzling wit and satire, the iron determination and will, the more imposing personal gifts that alternately charmed and awed people, which were Sir Pherozeshah's. But in the useful work of creating public opinion, in educating the people in those vast political and economic problems in the solution of which the best minds of the country are actively engaged, Sir Dinshaw has done a service which is scarcely inferior to that of either and far surpassing that of any one else. He has written and spoken on public questions more than any other publicist and what is more, much of his work has been quickly and silently done.

No one who has even once heard the slim, short lithe figure, ever active, ever buzzling, pouring forth in torrential flow from the old Congress platform his fierce condemnation of the questionable methods of the manipula-

tors of Indian Finance, subjecting them to a close scrutiny, and exposing the innumerable fallacies that lurk behind a thick cluster of words and figures, can help exclaiming, 'here is a born financier.' In fact, finance is Sir Dinshaw's forte. The criticisms of no two people on the financial policy of the Government have been received with as respectful attention and consideration as those of Sir D. E. Wacha and the late Mr. Gokhale. The services which Gokhale was rendering from his place in the Imperial Legislative Council, Sir Dinshaw has been rendering outside the Council and his commentaries have always been instructive and edifying. His exposition has always been clear, though piquant, and stated in a blunt, business-like manner which seldom fails to carry conviction to those who hear him. There is no branch of public finance which he has touched that he has not adorned. There may be room for difference of opinion, but there is no doubt that he has always advanced his views with a wealth of learning and attention to details that are the admiration of his friends and the

despair of his critics. Above all, his honesty is beyond question and that makes his criticisms more valuable. Some cynic has defined statistics in this curious but expressive way—lies, d—d lies, and statistics; but Sir Dinshaw has never used figures to confound and mystify. He refers to them to point a moral or adorn a tale; and figures can tell things which even words fail to portray.

But Sir Dinshaw's title to fame does not rest on financial criticism alone. His principal work has lain in that direction but his knowledge is encyclopædic. He is a close and intimate student of contemporary European politics and can discourse upon all the phases of European diplomacy and policy as any other non-official European who has no access to the archives of the Foreign Offices of European States. Sir Dinshaw is in the habit of asking everyone who seeks his advice to specialise; but specialisation has not been his virtue. He is one of the few Indians who want to know not only something of everything, but everything of everything. Almost every week he gets a regular consignment of

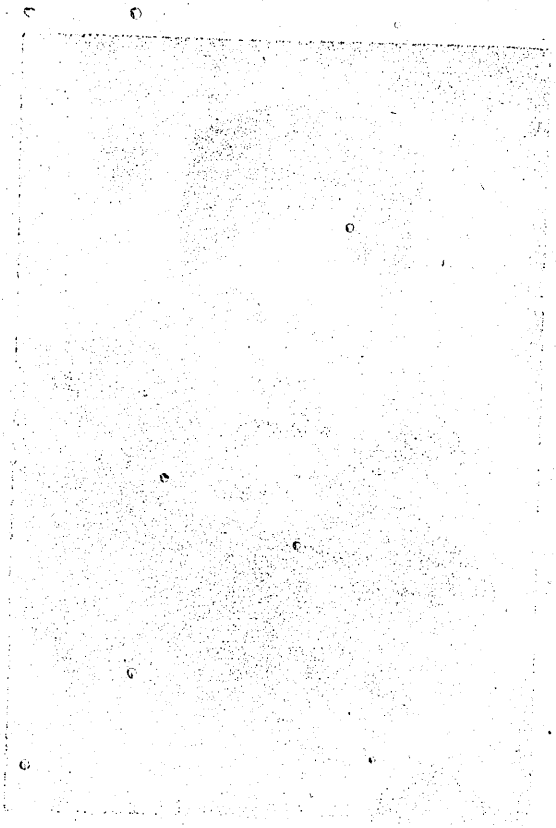
books, the latest literature on History, Politics, Economics, and Social Science which he is willing to place at the disposal of any youngster who wants to read them, while he subscribes to a number of English magazines and reviews. The daily paper which he never fails to read is the *Manchester Guardian* with whose policy he is in deep sympathy having imbibed the liberal views of the Manchester school of politicians and economists. At an age when most people would have forgotten all they had learnt, Sir Dinshaw applies himself to study with the assiduity of a school-boy. But his study is not confined to ephemeral literature and politics; the more serious side of literature equally engages his attention. He always delights to keep company at least for an hour or two every day with those dead but sceptred sovereigns who still rule our spirits from their urns.

A bare account of his daily round would make many in the prime of life blush at their comparative idleness. He has been actively connected with more public institutions than any one we can think of. A mere enume-

ration of his diverse activities, is enough to stagger one with the weight of his multifarious occupations. His varied activities throw light on the encyclopaedic range of his interests. Sir Dinshaw has been a Governor of the Imperial Bank of India (1920), Member, Bombay Legislative Council (1915-16), and of Imperial Legislative Council (1916-20), Member of the firm of Messrs. Morarji Gokuldas & Co., Agents, Morarji Gokuldas S. W. & Co., Ltd., and Sholapur S. & W. & Co., Ltd., Director, Central Bank of India, and Scindia Steam Navigation Company, for 30 years member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, for 40 years member of Bombay Mill-owners' Association Committee, and Member Bombay Imperial Trust since its formation in 1898, to 1919, Trustee of the Elphinstone College, Ex-chairman, Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, was General Secretary, Indian National Congress for 18 years from 1894, Trustee of the Victoria Technical Institute since 1902, President, Western India Liberal Association since 1919, was Secretary, Bombay Presidency Association from 1885 to 1915 and President



SIR DINSHAW EDULJI WACHA
(An earlier portrait.)



from 1915 to 1918, is Chairman and trustee of the People's Free Reading Room and Library since 1917. Any one or two of these functions would tax the resources of any individual to the utmost. It is a wonder to many how Sir Dinshaw manages to do his work so regularly and efficiently. Sir Dinshaw's industry not only enables him to discharge these functions efficiently and well; but he has continued till very recently, to find time to do extensive journalistic work besides. He was Editor of the English columns of the *Kaiser-i-Hind* so long as that paper lived; and in the early years of the *Indian Spectator* he was a regular contributor to it. The Editors of the *Advocate of India*, the *Bengalee*, the *Indian Review*, the *Wednesday Review* and the *Oriental Review* can say how much they are indebted to him for his contributions to their columns. Except the few letters that he now and then writes over his signature, most of his articles have appeared unsigned and people cannot know how much they owe to him and what a volume of public opinion he has created and kept alive during the days

of his vigorous public life. If his contributions to the Press were collected and printed,* they would easily run into a dozen volumes, while it is a well-known fact that all his public writings are to him a labour of love, and he has uniformly declined to accept any honorarium save in rare cases. Another fact, so well-known, is that Sir Dinshaw is a voluminous correspondent. He daily receives letters from all parts of the country on all sorts of subjects to which he uniformly and promptly sends replies, and he has weekly mail correspondence with friends in England and the British Congress Committee, when it was functioning. It is only during the last few years that he has refrained from his voluminous correspondence to newspapers and foreign periodicals, as his eyes have been too affected to allow him to pursue his hobby of writing.

HIS VIRTUE

And yet how simple, how just, generous, unassuming, unpretentious! It only requires a couple of minutes' conversation with him for

Speeches & Writings of Sir D. E. Wacha, Price Rs. Three. To Subs. I.R. Rs. 2-8. G.A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

one to be impressed with his child-like simplicity and unostentatiousness. He makes no difference between great men and little, and all are equally welcome to enjoy as many hours of his time as one can wish. His winning and graceful manners at home contrast with the bold and intrepid way in which he attacks his political opponents. He is, to use his own words once expressed in the Corporation, "a lamb at home but a lion in the chase." Perhaps this aspect of Sir Dinshaw's character needs now to be emphasised when public life is more or less influenced by private considerations and a spirit of intolerance of other people's opinions.

HIS EARLY YEARS

Dinshaw Edulji Wacha was born on August 2, 1844, of respectable middle class parents. At an early age he was sent to the Elphinstone Institution, Bombay, where he studied for four years. In 1858, a year before the first University Entrance Examination was held, he joined the Elphinstone College, which was then conducted under the principalship of

Dr. John Harkness assisted by a brilliant staff consisting of Sir Alexander Grant, Mr. J. P. Hughtings and Dr. Sinclair. In his case the child was indeed the father to the man; he conducted himself in such a way that he won the goodwill of his professors, Sir Alexander Grant especially commending his "gentlemanly pleasing deportment." Wacha derived considerable advantage by his course in the College, but unfortunately he was withdrawn from his life as student in order to assist his father in his own mercantile business. There he learnt his first lessons in the art of finance. He then joined the Bank of Bombay and was specially trained to take charge of one of its branches. His financial education was not yet complete, when he became an Assistant in the firm of Messrs. Brodie and Wilson, the only public accountants of Bombay, and helped in the winding-up of a dozen bankrupt estates and half-a-dozen banks and financial associations which collapsed owing to the American War of 1861-65. In 1874, he linked his fortunes to the cotton industry of Bombay and he is still in the line.

ENTRANCE INTO PUBLIC LIFE

It was during these years that Wacha began to take an intellectual interest in Indian politics. Political life in those days was in an embryonic state and the Indian National Congress was as yet unborn. Those were days when the void of an effective Indian public opinion was filled by an independent Anglo-Indian Press. There were many giants in those days who were sharper thorns on the side of the Government than even the Indian Press of today. The like of Robert Knight Maclean, Geary and Martin Wood we have not known for many decades and possibly never shall know. It was the writings of Mr. Robert Knight that first kindled Wacha's patriotic fire and even to-day Sir Dinshaw never fails to acknowledge what he owes to that Bayard of Indian Journalism. Knight's writings on the land revenue, opium, Inam Commission and all financial and economic questions were based upon a critical examination of the subjects and breathed a spirit of sterling honesty and independence as well as true sympathy with the abject condition of the people. Sir

Dinshaw even now asks every student anxious to study Indian finance to carefully go through Mr. Knight's writings.

HIS EARLY MUNICIPAL WORK

Wacha is not a politician of the imperial variety despising local politics as beneath notice. On the contrary, his early labours were devoted to civic activities, and it is impossible to say what the Bombay Corporation owes him and Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and a few others. To write the history of the Corporation since its new constitution of 1888—which is its Magna Charta—and its vicissitudes, is only to write the history of these few men. Wacha entered the Corporation about thirty years ago, but, prior to that, his activities were confined to a fearless criticism of its measures in the local Press, and in creating an intelligent public opinion on Municipal affairs. The chief vehicle was the *Indian Spectator*, a journal which was edited by Mr. Malabari, but which gained its reputation between 1880 and 1887 largely through the writings of Mr. Wacha. His services have not been publicly acknowledged, but that is due to his

innate modesty. Not only was he the writer on almost all political and economic subjects for long, Mr. Malabari confining himself to the lighter topic of social reform, but all the twenty-four columns were sometimes entirely written by Wacha himself. His searching criticism on Municipal affairs induced many to think that his services in the Corporation would be invaluable, and he has been representing the influential Fort Ward. Once on the Corporation his influence made itself felt. He has been the stoutest critic of executive vagaries and many have been his passages-at-arms with the Commissioner. He had made many valuable suggestions in Municipal finance which it would be weary to narrate here, but which have been more or less adopted by the Corporation. These will be found embodied in that excellent record of the Rise and Growth of Bombay Muncipal Government compiled by Sir Dinshaw and published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan Co., Madras.

AS A CONGRESSMAN

A yet wider field for work presented itself by the starting of the Indian National Congress

in 1885. He was one of the seventy and odd members who founded that institution and continued to be an active worker in its behalf till the definite breach between the Moderate and extremist elements in the Congress led to the inauguration of the Moderate Conference in 1918. His annual speeches at the Congress and other conferences had always been looked forward to with delight and interest as they form the best informed criticism of the financial condition of India. In the same year, (1885) the Bombay Presidency Association was also formed, of which he was long one of the Secretaries. Some of the memorials which the Council of the Association have sent on public questions bear the impress of his industry and talents. As the Secretary of the Congress for very many years, he was always seen a few days before the sittings wherever that body met, helping the local workers by his counsel. His great earnestness has been the cause of smoothing many differences in Congress ranks since Mr. Hume's retirement, especially in connexion with the Poona Congress of 1894. And when in 1901, the Reception Committee

at Calcutta offered the Presidentship of the Congress to him, the wonder was why the honor came so late. The following appreciations coming from no friendly quarters show the hold he has acquired on the imagination of even Anglo-Indian critics, by his sheer diligence, industry, patriotism and force of character. The *Municipal Journal* of Bombay had the following from the pen of an Englishman:—

To know Mr. Wacha is to know not only one of the most enlightened public citizens of India, but to become acquainted with a marvel of untiring energy, a living encyclopædia of experiences and facts, and a brilliant and highly respected member of our municipal hierarchy. The history of his triumphant progress towards the coveted dignity of presiding over his colleagues in the Municipal Hall, will furnish the ambitious student with an aspiration towards a life of public usefulness such as he will rarely acquire in the pages of a mere pen and ink utilitarian. His enormous capacity for work, the intellectual keenness which he brings to bear on questions as they arise, his power of grasping and comprehending what is beyond masses of figures, and, above all, the honesty of his efforts, have added weight to his counsel, however important the subject under discussion. In finance Mr. Wacha has possibly accomplished his best work, though that by no means covers the whole field of his labours. Here he has been persistent and merciless in criticising the fallacies which have grown with age in the city's system of accounts, and has suggested valuable changes.

The *Indian Daily News* of Calcutta was no less enthusiastic and wrote:—

He is a successful man of business and a keen financial critic, and may be said to thoroughly represent the industrial phase of life in the Western Metropolis. He is much more a Bombay man than Mr. Pherozeshah Mehta; and he has all the good and bad qualities of that robust Provincialism. Mr. Wacha is a compact packet of nerves and electric vitality. He is never in repose and it is perfectly marvellous how he manages to stretch the ordinary twenty-four hours to a length of time to suffice for his extraordinary and his many-sided activity. He is by no means a rich man, although his chances of making a fortune in cotton have not been few and he is by no means a famous man, although fame would long ere this have been within his grasp had he become a specialist. His talent is more than respectable, but his ceaseless movement unsettles that concentration on a single aim required either for the amassing of wealth or reputation. For over twenty years Mr. Wacha was *l'venjani terrible* of local politics in Bombay. At the Corporation, at the Mill-Owners' Association, in the Congress Tent, and at the Bombay Presidency Association, he was always ready to fight for what he conscientiously believed to be right, and no man was less ready to submit to the tyranny of expediency. He seldom stayed to measure his words, and in the torrential flow of his public oratory he burst the trammels of grammatical construction with all the contempt of the Sage of Chelsea. There was no more picturesque debater in the Bombay Corporation, but there were few sounder critics. Mr. Wacha writes better than he speaks, that is to say, from a pure rhetorical point of view. But in every other way both his writing and speaking are characteristic of his energy, his impatience of diplomacy, and his love of truth as it appears to him. At the age of 57, he looks younger than most Indians of 40; a fact which must be attributed to the extremely simple life he leads. The pleasures of the table or of the drawing-room do not appeal to him. His ordinary attire is severely utilitarian and he has a horror of official honors. He is possessed of the ideal democratic spirit, and the gospel of his life is work. To elect such a man to the chief Indian political honour, for thus we must regard the Presidency of the Indian National Congress, is a

departure from the accepted policy, and may have a far-reaching, let us trust, and this was written thirty years ago a beneficial effect.

BEFORE THE WELBY COMMISSION

In 1897, he was chosen by the Bombay Presidency Association, at the instance of Government, to give evidence before the Welby Commission and his evidence fully justified the confidence which the Congress reposed in him in 1896, that he would give "accurate and adequate expression to its views on the questions which form the subject of enquiry." In the course of the evidence he reviewed the entire financial policy of the Government of India. He pointed out the defect in the preparation and submission of financial statements under a clumsy system giving estimates under the headings "budget," "revised" and "accounts," which necessitates the student to refer to three financial statements to accurately judge the financial progress under a single item in any one year; suggested the enlargement of the powers of non-official members to divide the Council on all the items, and approved Sir William Wedderburn's scheme to submit the budget to a Committee

of the House of Commons for report. On the subject of the fluctuation of the value of the rupee and the embarrassments it caused to the Finance Members he made a valuable suggestion, namely, to form a sort of exchange reserve which he explained in the following terms :—

My suggestion is that, under present circumstances—at any rate till the time again arrives for a stable exchange—it would be better to take exchange at a fixed rate from year to year, say, at 14 or 14½ pence for rupee in the budget estimate. Should it be found, at the end of the year, that the actual amount incurred under this head is less than the estimate, the difference be credited to an account to be called "Exchange Equalisation or Reserve." In case at any other time the amount incurred is in excess of the estimate, difference should be taken from this Reserve account. By adopting such a course a certain stability will be imparted to the finances, while it will prevent the Finance Minister from attributing this, that, and the other increase to this. *deus ex machina* of exchange.

And again :—

The present practice of at once disposing of the so-called "improvement" in exchange should be put a stop to. As Indian finances go, there is a desire to utilise rather prematurely so-called "surplus" owing to better exchange; though it may happen the very next year that exchange may be worse, leading either to economies here and there, or encroachments on provincial balances, or fresh taxation. This cannot be considered sound finance. At any rate, knowing as we do the chronic embarrassments of the Indian treasury, financial statesmanship would suggest not to be too hasty in disposing of such a sort of surplus. It is more in the nature of a fortuitous windfall, and should not be depended upon.

The most valuable portion of his evidence related to the fact that the financial embarrassment of the Government of India was not the result of falling exchange, but of the increased military expenditure. He summed up his opinion in the following paragraphs:—

(1) That the financial embarrassments which prevailed during the decade owe their origin principally to the enormous growth of military expenditure, which has led to the imposition of additional taxation which now amounts, including the customs duties on cotton goods, to nearly 6 crores.

(2) That the growth in civil expenditure is also very considerable. But so far as this is concerned there is not much cause of complaint save in one respect, namely, that the costly foreign agency absorbs a large portion of the revenue which could be considerably saved if there was more extensive employment of Indians in the higher grades of the administration. It may be observed that adequate civil expenditure of a prodcutive character is much to be desired. I mean such as gives the taxpayers a fair *quid pro quo*, such as education for the masses, more efficient administration of justice, greater village and town sanitation, and all other works of public utility which contribute to the expansion of provincial resources and prosperity of the people.

(3) That the burden of exchange might easily have been borne, without resort to fresh and enhanced taxation, had the military expenditure been on the basis of 1884-5.

(4) That a similar growth, if allowed to go unchecked in future, is liable to plunge the Government into fresh embarrassments, leading to further taxation, which is neither desirable in the interests of good and stable government, nor in the interests of the people among whom there prevails sullen discontent, inasmuch as their capacity to bear further burdens had been greatly crippled. The Secretary of State writes imperative

despatches for strict economy, and for exercising utmost care in public expenditure, for the danger of increasing the burden of taxation has to be borne in mind. (*Vide* Despatch 12th April, 1888, Vol. II., Appendix p. 141; Despatch of 3rd November, 1892, Vol. II., Appendix, page 154.)

If the military expenditure were to be reduced that would give sensible relief to the Indian tax-payer, but it would not in any way do justice to him. That can only be done by a due apportionment of the charges between England and India.

CONGRESS PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The year 1901 was the year when honors fell on him thick and fast. He was elected President of the Bombay Corporation, the highest civic honor to which any citizen of Bombay can aspire. The honor was all the more significant as it came to him unasked, and unsolicited while others have to scramble for it. The same year he was made President of the Congress that was held at Calcutta. His presidential address was a summary of our political hopes and aspirations, a treatise on agricultural indebtedness and our economic prostration. The *Manchester Guardian* said that the address was conspicuous for its

"sanity and moderation," while the *Times of India* admitted that "it is due to him to say that during fifteen years of public life he has consistently revealed qualities that do not invariably distinguish those of his compatriots that enter the arena. Among those qualities we may place foremost his extreme sincerity; and to this must be added an indefatigable energy that would be conspicuous in New York and an indifference to place and distinction very unusual in this country."

The entire Indian Press regarded the speech as a remarkable production.

The *Statesman* of Calcutta wrote on the 27th December 1901, that

> to unbiassed critics an address so eminently practical and so moderate as that delievered by the President at the opening of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Indian National Congress on Thursday last must go far to vindicate the movement from the worst charge still made against it—that of uselessness.

A large portion of the address was devoted to the all-absorbing topic of Indian famines and the policy of famine administration, especially in Bombay, which the report of Sir Antony MacDonnell's Commission condemned in severe terms.

He summed up his position on the economic evils of absenteeism in the following words:—

The fact is, India is not free to choose its own administrative agency. Were it free, is there the slightest doubt that the entire administrative agency would be indigenous, living and spending their monies in the country? India, I repeat, is not free and therefore it has no choice in the matter. The governing authorities in the first place have most strangely willed that almost all the higher posts shall be held by men who live awhile here and then retire to their own country. Even another great modern Asiatic Power Russia is not known to import wholesale Russian agency to carry on the work of administration in the distant provinces of Central Asia! But we are told that the European agency is extremely limited. It counts no more than 17,300 persons. True. But contrast the annual expenditure of 16 crores incurred on their account with the 2¾ crores earned by Indians. Did England sit quite while the Plantaganets were filling all the high offices from France to the great disadvantage of the English themselves? Was not England pauperised when the Papacy was rampant and abstracted millions from it annually as history has recorded? Would England refrain from complaining, supposing that the position of India and England was to-day reversed?

We may now proceed to give some extracts from his various other speeches and writings on some of the most vital problems of the day. When the closure of the mints was on the *tapis*, Wacha dilated at length on the great economic evils and the bitter consequences of that ill-advised measure at the Allahabad Congress of 1892. His Cassandra-like forecasts were unhappily realised.

When the gold standard was inrtoduced as a result of the labours of the Fowler Committee, he condemned it in the following terms in 1899 :

Coming to what they call "an effective gold standard," the law for the present says nothing as to what should constitute a legal tender for rupees. The rupee currency, as you all know, is, technically, a huge token currency. It is officially declared that "existing conditions of India do not warrant the imposition of a limit on the amount for which they should contribute a legal tender; indeed, for some time to come no such limitation can be contemplated." It is clear from the extract just quoted that the Government realises at the very outset of its new enterprise in currency reform the practical difficulties it has to overcome to get rid of rupee token currency. The difficulties are many and may appal the boldest and soundest currency reformer. How can the vast internal trade of the country be carried out without a silver currency which shall be an illimitable legal tender, is the problem—it is the *pons asinorum* which our financial authorities at headquarters will have to cross before they can with a clear conscience and courage proclaim that they have been able to establish an effective gold standard. This is the most valuable part of the new measure. It is its weakest point. In fact, Mr. Dawkins, as a practical financier, was quick to perceive it. Hence that statement the other day in the Supreme Legislative Council at Simla, that the Government was not "hostile" to rupees, which must remain the internal currency for all intents and purposes. But if so, may we not ask where was the good to introduce a gold currency? Practically, the Government has here indirectly acknowledged that it is not possible to do without the silver currency, which has been the natural currency for so many years past. It is meet that the Congress should take note of this important fact.

To declare that gold will be as easily exchangeable as rupees would be to toll the death-knell of its favourite

measure. The Government is conscious of its own feebleness in this particular matter. It has not the strength to exchange gold for rupees. It may try to have a gold reserve. It has already accumulated about 7 crores. And it may accumulate even double that sum. But that may not suffice. It would demand perhaps twice and thrice fifteen crores before it can command public confidence in its gold currency and put it on a sound and stable footing. And so long as it cannot inspire that confidence in the public, the present measure must be considered halting. Practically we have what may be called a limping currency. And I need not tarry to inform you of the opinions of bankers and merchants, let alone economists, as to the effects of such a currency. No strong Government which is desirous to be financially sound, can for any length of time have such a currency. But the Government deliberately chose to introduce into the country a gold currency against popular wishes, and here is the result of its impolicy.

Moreover, limping and halting as this currency is, it remains to be seen, how even with its gold reserve the Government is going to keep the yellow metal in the country. The question asked everywhere, specially by bankers and merchants, is first, whether gold will be retained in the country. Secondly, if retained, how much of it may go in circulation and how much of it may be hoarded? India, according to all State officials, is said to have vast heaps of hoarded gold? Is it likely that such a country will refuse to hoard a larger quantity of gold, best in coins or in other form, when gold flows in freely as is fondly expected? Is it at all unlikely that no sooner it flows in than it will be hoarded? Will not the people exchange the hoarded rupees for gold coins, and will they not go on continuing that process, while demanding more and more of rupees for ordinary purposes, specially with increasing population? If even such a wealthy country as the United States, with all elements in its favour, and with no ceaseless drain on the annual national wealth, as is the case with India, is often unable to retain gold, is it possible that this country which is a debtor country, will be able to retain gold?

Rightly understood, the problem means that the use of gold should be avoided, and the metal which is most suitable, and which had greatly augmented India's prosperity, should be extensively utilised. The Government from the very first committted two huge fallacies: (1) that the rupees had fallen in value, and (2) that the currency was redundant. It fondly imagined that by linking India's currency system with that of England it would stimulate the flow of gold into this country. That is the delusion and I regret to have to observe that the latest sharer in that delusion is our Viceroy. In winding up the debate on the gold currency in September last, Lord Curzon, with a strange infatuation, partly inspired no doubt by the surrounding bureaucracy, which fattens on exchange compensation allowance, and partly by his own too imperfect acquaintance with this most intricate subject, pictured to us in magniloquent words, of which he is such a master, the bright visions which his currency measure would enable the people to realise; India would become rich beyond the dreams of avarice. It has only to establish a stable currency and gold will flow in millions from all gold-producing countries without stint to fertilise this poverty-stricken land and make every *raiyat* in the country prosperous, not to say aught of the happiness of those semi-starved, numbering some fifty millions, who now go year in and year out without one full meal a day. Let us all entertain the hope that this sanguine expectation of our golden-visioned Viceroy may be realised; and that before he lays down his exalted office four years hence, he may have the satisfaction to see this land of perpetual misery and discontent converted into an *El Dorado*, bringing contentment and happiness at every door.

Again he continued :—

Apart from the producers there is a large section of the poorer population whose small savings consist of silver trinkets. When we take their aggregate value into consideration, no doubt it comes to millions of rupees. But when we divide these millions by the number of the population, the quotient is indeed very small. It comes to an insignificant sum of 5 to 6 annas per head! This is the saving in silver hoarded over a

period of fifty years! Now the silver of these was undoubtedly sold at any time in the bazaar at the rate of a rupee per tola. What is the price of silver now? It does not go beyond 10 or 11 annas per tola. So that practically there is a loss of at least five annas. A silver trinket, say, a bangle worth 10 Rupees before the closure of the mints, is now worth only 6¼ Rupees. In reality, by one cruel stroke of the pen of our currency quacks, the silver value of the hoardings of the masses has been diminished by 40 to 50 per cent.! Is that no injury to the poorest?

The following from a memorial to the Government of India by the Bombay Presidency Association signed by Wacha and two others as Secretaries will also be in place here :—

Next, the Council would take leave to remind Government that another cause which has contributed in no small a measure to the deficit is the exchange compensation allowance granted indiscriminately to the Services. It is indeed a matter of profound regret that while all other classes of the community were patiently resigning themselves to the currency legislation, in spite of acute suffering more or less from its evil consequences, the servants of Government should have chosen the very period of the economic crisis for demanding compensation allowance! In its reply to the Indian Association of Calcutta on the subject, the Government stated that there was no legal justification for the grant. It was purely an act of generosity at the expense of the helpless taxpayers of the empire, and as such was misplaced and altogether uncalled for. It comes to this that the taxpayers exist solely for the Services and not the Services for the taxpayers. And when it is borne in mind that the servants of Government are allowed salaries which are not only liberal but extravagant, having no parallel in the administration of any civilised country in the world, the liberality shown by the Government seems wholly unjustifiable. Government should be just before it is generous. While an indirect taxation of a most

burdensome character has been inflicted on the people by the currency legislation, passed on June 26th, in a condition of extreme panic, it is a matter of deep regret Government should have not only ignored the fact but made that burden still heavier by awarding compensation and that too indiscriminately—making no difference between the case of those covenanted servants who entered the service before and after 1886 or those that made no remittances at all and even allowing it to Eurasians who are domiciled in India and consider themselves as Statutory Natives. But what is even more to be regretted is the fact of the allowance being made when Government was in the midst of its direst financial difficulties and when it knew that it had no funds to provide for it save by means of extra taxation. In urging justification for the allowance, the Hon'ble the Finance Minister stated that some private firms were known to have allowed compensation to their servants. That may be so. But the Council would be surprised to learn if it could be said that a mercantile firm which was not in a position to balance its losses against its income was found to have increased its establishment charges. But this is precisely the position of Government. A private firm under the circumstances, as a rule, would either reduce its establishment or curtail its expenses unless it chose to intensify its embarrassments.

But whatever the grievances of the servants may be, the Council are convinced that they have scarcely any foundation in fact. It has been alleged that they are unable to make both ends meet for the support of their families in England owing to the smaller equivalent in gold that they now obtain for their Rupee remittances. From the following table D of prices of various articles of consumption in an ordinary English family (extracted from the Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom), it would seem that in almost all items there has been a considerable fall compared with prices in 1882, which ranges from 3 to 47 per cent. The fact conclusively proves that a smaller quantity of gold now buys as much, if not more, than what it purchased ten years ago. So that the alleged hardship would seem to be more imaginary than real. But even admitting for argument's sake that there is hardship, the question

which the Government had to consider was whether the hardship entailed on the vast population, compared with whom the Services are a microscopic minority, is less. It is indeed grievous that while the people are resignedly enduring the burden of all kinds thrown on them by Government, the Services should only think of themselves and make no sacrifices whatever for the national good.

Holding the views that he has held on the subject of Indian currency it would have been of the utmost advantage to the country, if he had been chosen to give evidence before the Chamberlain Commission. That Commission was appointed for the purpose of reviewing the currency policy of the Indian Government which had come in for a good deal of criticism from the European Chambers of Commerce. In fact, few people had realised the evils of a state-regulated currency as Sir Dinshaw and he had warned the Government against adopting the gold exchange standard or even a gold currency as being unsuitable for India. From the extracts we have given above it will be apparent how staunch he has been in his advocacy of maintaining free silver and not precipitating the country into a gold currency. The Chamberlain Commission, at all events, adopted his view though to a

limited extent. They do not advocate free silver for India, but they have deliberately given it as their opinion that India is unfit for a gold currency, but in order apparently to please both parties, the silver party and the gold party, they gave it as their opinion that what India wanted was an exchange standard. If Wacha had been called upon to give evidence before the Commission he would have pointed out how the evils of an exchange standard are no less serious than those of a gold currency and it is unaccountable why his name was overlooked when the choice of witnesses was made by the Government.

But when the first volume of the report of the Commission appeared he gave expression to his views in the columns of the *Bombay Chronicle*. The following extracts sum up his views on the questions of cash balances, Council Bills and other cognate subjects referred to the Commission for their examination and report. He wrote :—

What, then, are the inferences which may be fairly and reasonably deduced from the evidence already recorded? Let us review them, briefly, one by one. Firstly, there is this question of Cash Balances. It has

been demonstrated to conclusion that the heavier balances of recent date have had their origin more in exceptional circumstances than in any new secretly defined policy agreed to between the Secretary of State and the Government of India. So far the allegation noisily set on foot has been knocked on the head. Then as to the expansion of public deposits in the Presidency Banks to ease an approaching monetary stringency, opinions seem to have been divided. Some have averred that the stringency, more or less, is to be discerned every year, and that a few more lakhs of rupees in the tills of Presidency Banks do not help it one way or the other. On the contrary, if the monetary market knows that for a certainty the Presidency Banks need no aid from Government, a better and securer feeling would supervene which might be of the greatest advantage to the money market. There are some who think that the balances should be enlarged during the busy season when the district treasuries everywhere are overflowing with revenue collections. But at the same time it has been proved that the Government may at any time need the monies for emergency and if the Banks could not immediately repay them on demand, it might cause considerable embarassment to the Government and rather aggravate the stringency than remedy it. Sound finance suggests that the less the monetary market relies on Government help the better. As to lending the funds of the State, when there is a large surplus cash balance, it is merely a question of what kind of securities should be deposited, what should be the limit of the amount of the loans, and what should be the rate of interest. Here there is a pretty general agreement and both the Exchange Banks and the representatives of the mercantile community are of opinion that it is expedient to fix the rate of interest at one per cent. below the Bank rate.

Secondly, as to the sales of Council Bills. It has been proved that during the last few years Council Bills have been sold considerably in excess of the requirements of the State. But what may be deemed *requirements* is a moot question. Do these signify the money annually budgetted for Home charges, amounting to 18 millions sterling, or those charges plus certain other

amounts for railway purposes, or for what is called the settlement of the balance of trade? The other point in connection with the sale of Council Bills is as to the manner of selling them, whether these should be freely sold from day to day at a fixed rate, say, 1s. 3-29/32d., or whether at a rate which may be in the near neighbourhood of the specie point which, as far as Egypt, India or China is concerned, is a varying item. Thirdly, as to the Gold Standard Reserve. The main trend of the investigation was centred in the location of the gold, whether it should be in India or in London, and what proportion should be so kept. It was also to be determined whether the whole amount of the reserve should be in "metallic" gold, or part in gold, and the rest in gold securities of a liquid character, that is to say, which might be easily sold. Mr. Clayton Cole opined that a certain portion must always remain in gold in London—such gold, as he pointed out is never accounted for in the weekly gold reserve of the Bank of England. As to the proportion so to be reserved, he left it to the Secretary of State to determine. Other witnesses were in favour of ten, millions of gold in London, while Mr. Harold Ross was in favour of thirty millions of gold being accumulated first, and thereafter wholly kept in London to meet any crisis or the severest stringency occurring in India owing to an acute famine. But none agreed with Mr. Webb, that the gold of the Gold Standard Reserve, whatever the amount should be allowed to remain in India, and India alone. Fourthly, touching the freer use or larger circulation of gold, in other words, as to the advisability of having a sound gold currency. Here, again, opinions are greatly at variance. Some are for gold currency at all costs and hazards but without reflecting on the vast amount of silver token coinage, a coinage which will have to be increased largely from time to time, and its consequent effects not only on India but on the international money market. Here too, Mr. Webb is the valiant protagonist, after having been up to 1907 the strongest opponent of Gold currency in any form. Then, there are others who wish that Government should always be prepared, when called upon to give gold in exchange for rupees. While another set of witnesses

would leave that power in the hands of Government, that is to say, that authority may withhold or pay out gold at its discretion. A fourth set considered that there should be no direct or indirect coercion in the use of gold, but that the Government should popularise more and more its notes, so as to expand their circulation and greatly economise the use of gold. Lastly, there were others who thought that the people of India should have that currency which most suits their daily requirements and special usages. Fifthly, there was almost unanimity on the subject of the undesirability of a gold mint and a separate gold coin of ten rupees. It was generally pronounced to be a waste of public money to have gold mint. Lastly there was the question of a Central Bank, that is, an amalgamation of the three Presidency Banks, or the institution of a State Bank, principally controlled by the State. Different witnesses entertained different opinions and practically there was a tendency more or less to hold that no case was made out for such a Bank and that its establishment was exceedingly problematical as to results both to the State and the general monetary public.

Our own view of the matter is that all these several points did not demand for their solution the costly Commission which is now sitting. Graver matters involving huge annual burdens on the poor tax-payers of India whose ability to bear additional taxation is extremely limited, have past in the 55 years, since the passing of the Government of India Act, of 1858, been disposed of by a small Commtttee of independent experts chosen from both Houses of Parliament. Sometimes Departmental Committees have been held as the records of the India Office will testify, At the best we feel that the questions now under investigation might have well been entrusted for inquiry to a small Parliamentary Committee of monetary experts. Practically, it seems that there were disputes as to five different matters of a financial character between the Indian Government and the Secretary of State on the one hand, and a fractional mfnority of Anglo-Indian merchants on the other. We say "fractional" advisedly, because the enlightened Indian public never complained nor agitated on these

question. The interests of the foreign merchants—we use the term not in any offensive sense—alone led to the agitation. Had Indians set on foot such an agitation they would never have succeeded in getting a Royal Commission so speedily appointed. It took fully ten years for the Government, after the agitation commenced, to appoint a Royal Commission on Indian expenditure. Indians with real substantial grievances are all "agitators" in the maleficent significance of the word. But when an interested class, a fraction of the population, but powerful and influential, agitate for redress of grievances far from reasonable and substantial, they are no "agitators!" What India wants at present in reference to the gravest financial and economic transactions is a well-reasoned and statesmanlike declaration of the policy and principle on which these should be conducted. * * * * * *

Then as to Council Bills. It is a moot question as to the purposes for which Council Bills were first brought into play. Was it not for the purpose of solely and exclusively enabling the Secretary of State to draw on the Government of India for the disbursement of the annual Home Charges? Was it ever contemplated that the Bills were to be made an instrument to facilitate the settlement of what is euphemistically called the "balance of trade"? We make bold to say such an idea never entered the heads of the earliest Secretaries of State. It was never contemplated. It is a practice which has come into use largely during the last ten years, and on our part we regard it as an abuse of the original purpose for which these sales were instituted. Nowhere else in the civilised world is a balance "settled" by Government with the aid of bills. Bills there may be in any quantity, but they are between debtors and creditors through the instrumentality of bankers but nothing more. The existing practice of Councils is a glaring anomaly and the sooner here, too, a definite pronouncement of the principle and policy of Government is made, the better. It seems that we are going back to the days of John Company when it was a pure trading company. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that, though there may be a difference in the mode of accommodating commercial transactions, the principle

would leave that power in the hands of Government, that is to say, that authority may withhold or pay out gold at its discretion. A fourth set considered that there should be no direct or indirect coercion in the use of gold, but that the Government should popularise more and more its notes, so as to expand their circulation and greatly economise the use of gold. Lastly, there were others who thought that the people of India should have that currency which most suits their daily requirements and special usages. Fifthly, there was almost unanimity on the subject of the undesirability of a gold mint and a separate gold coin of ten rupees. It was generally pronounced to be a waste of public money to have gold mint. Lastly there was the question of a Central Bank, that is, an amalgamation of the three Presidency Banks, or the institution of a State Bank, principally controlled by the State. Different witnesses entertained different opinions and practically there was a tendency more or less to hold that no case was made out for such a Bank and that its establishment was exceedingly problematical as to results both to the State and the general monetary public.

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of the existing practice is the same as old John Company followed a century ago, but under altogether different commercial and political conditions, and which was universally condemned.

It may be asked for whose benefit is the Gold Standard Reserve established? Is it for the benefit of the indigenous Indian population? If not, it is a serious question whether it should continue to be maintained. If we have a currency and exchange to-morrow on a *natural* basis, not artificial as at present, Government can easily balance their budget and taxation and do without this prop of a Gold Standard Reserve. So long as they go on tinkering and tampering as they have been doing, there will never be any real stability to exchange, and no natural currency for the people. One has only to contemplate the distressing condition to which India and the Indian Government may be reduced by a stoppage of the annual sterling loans for three years and by the abolition of the so-called Gold Standard Reserve. There is not the least doubt that the entire financial house of the Government would collapse like a house of cards. But there are eyes which will not see and there are ears which will not hear. And it is superfluous to say that the Day of Reckoning must come, though it may be long in coming. Governments are never forewarned and forearmed. When overwhelmed by a sudden crisis, they are seized with panic and try hurriedly to retrieve a position which is inevitable. Such, we believe, is the fate that ultimately awaits the present tinkered and tampered currency. A severe crisis will teach the needed lesson, but at what cost and at what a huge sacrifice?

These extracts show how in his opinion the Chamberlain Commission went out of the right track and how they only sought to perpetuate the very evils they were called upon to remove. The appointment of the Commission itself was due to the agitation of Anglo-

Indian merchants who were not so much concerned with giving India a stable currency as to secure for their own purposes the use of the cash balances in India even as the London money market was being served by our cash balances in England. And naturally much time was wasted in recording evidences as to the desirability of the Government of India coming to the rescue of the money market in India to relieve the stringency which Anglo-Indian critics averred was created by the Government of India. In a further letter to the *Bombay Chronicle*, Wacha exposed the fallacy of their argument. He pointed out that the growth of Banking facilities in India was sufficient to meet the expansion of trade and if there was stringency anywhere it was not due to the action of the Government.

> Our banking institutions have so far well responded to the demands of trade. And if we can argue by analogy from this experience of the past twelve years it might be fairly asserted that the progress will continue. In other words, there is every expectation that our banking operations will keep pace with the growing trade. Commercial crisis may sometimes arrest for a time the progress. But the crisis having passed the progress would go on. There may be monetary crisis also. That depends on more than one cause. It is an accident, but

the question is how far monetary stringency is created by admitted dearth of financial facilities and resources and how far by temporary causes, be they political or economic or climatic or all combined.'

Wacha has not confined himself to the discussion of currency questions alone. To the discussion of the financial policy of the Government in recent times he has made valuable contribution by means of his letters to the *Times of India* and other organs of public opinion which have been brought together in the form of pamphlets. His *Recent Indian Finance* and the *Near Future of Imperial Finance* deserve careful attention at the hands of every student of Indian finance, for therein he discusses the financial policy of the Government which is one of increased public expenditure, heavy taxation and of slow and uncertain progress in social reform. In the matter of financial reform the attitude of the Government of India has been anything but satisfactory. The Welby Commission was appointed for the purpose of giving some relief to the Indian tax-payer, but it recommended a paltry quarter of a million, which was soon increased threefold by the

War Office. Ever since the Indian National Congress was started in 1885, the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into the condition of public finance and the apportionment of expenditure between England and India has been prayed for and the report of the Welby Commission, which was the result of the agitation for a Commision, was very disappointing. But more disappointing than even the report of the Welby Commision was the growth of public expenditure since the date of its report. The closing of the mints to the private coinage of silver, and the steadying of Indian exchange that followed, led to the gradual reduction of some of the taxes that had been imposed in order to make both ends meet; but public expenditure increased all the same and led to the peculiar phenomenon of the Finance Member levying extra taxation in 1910, which was a normal year and a year of peace. The Finance Member justified it on the ground that it was called for by the gradual extinction of the opium revenue, Wacha pointed out that the burden was sought to be imposed on the wrong shoulders

and that the real causes that led to the deficit and necessitated the taxation were the heavy interest charges paid on the heavy annual borrowings of millions for Railway purposes, and the very large growth in the Civil and Military charges.

In a paper which he contributed to the *Indian Review* in 1910, he probed into the causes for the enormous growth of expenditure and pointed out that the solution lay in the formulation of a definite domestic and foreign policy, as it is policy that always regulates expenditure. His suggestions are summed up in the following words :—

So long as the present policy which leads to expenditure from time to time by leaps and bounds is persisted in, it is hopeless to see Indian finance established on a sound and healthy footing. While the resources of the country for the purposes of taxation are limited, it is economically unsound to mount up expenditure without any well-defined limit. The ability of the taxpayer, too, has to be carefully considered. At present it seems that he is almost wholly disregarded. We have seen, how, in spite of the reasoned remonstrance and protest of the representatives of the taxpayers in the Viceregal Legislative Council on the occasion of the introduction of the Budget, the Government has simply carried out its pre-determined object of enhancing taxation without any valid reason. If the Governmen will not in the immediate future modify its policy so a



SIR DINSHAW WACHA
(As he appears to-day.)

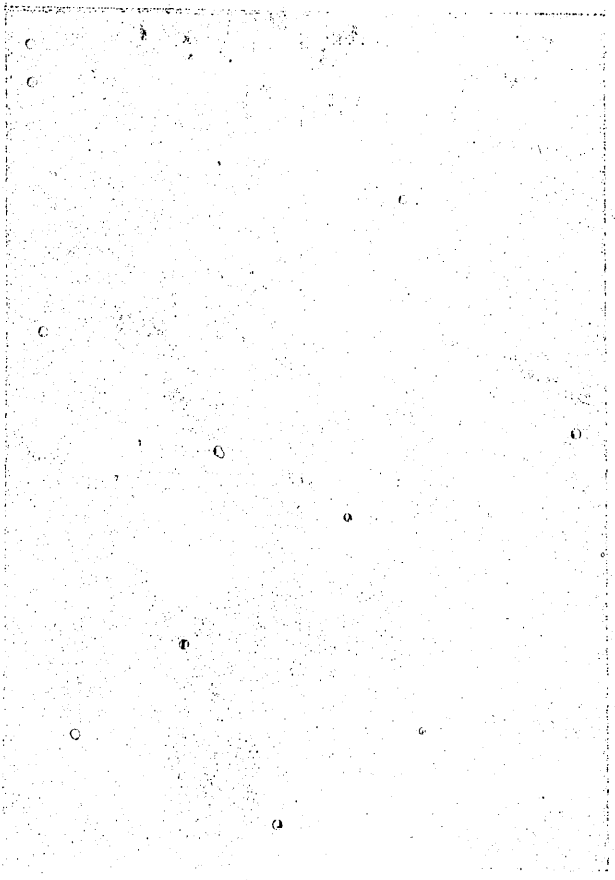
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to relieve Indian finance of its embarrassments, the result will be that expenditure will go on recklessly increasing, as it has done during the last ten years, certainly entailing, as the night follows day, additional taxation. To demand a Retrenchment Committee would be a mockery for the simple reason that the laborious proceedings of that body will only end in a barren result. Who is unaware of the insignificant economies which Lord Dufferin's Committee of 1886 recommended under the presidency of Sir Charles Elliot? Poor as the economies were, they were immediately swallowed up by the expenditure consequent on the fateful foreign policy that came into vogue at its heels; and later on the domestic, too, of which the closure of the mints was the most mischievous and unstatesmanlike. Retrenchment and economy are out of place so long as the policy which leads to financial crises, from time to time, and consequent enhanced taxation, is not modified. It is like the procedure of the proverbial Mrs. Partington mapping the Atlantic. You may economise at the best to the tune of a crore or two, it ever so much, but the saving will soon be swallowed up by the surging sea of larger expenditure.

The enunciation of a definite policy is no doubt the first condition for sound finance, but it must be followed in India by a due measure of financial decentralisation. He suggested that what is really wanted for purposes of a genuine decentralisation of Indian finance is a certain well-thought-out and well-defined method whereby each Provincial Government may enjoy the fruits of its own diligence, while contributing a reasonable percentage of its revenue toward the expenses of

the Imperial Government for purposes of general supervision and nothing more.

By all means let the army and the railways be kept under its charge and control. But let their maintenance entirely depend on what each Provincial Government is able annually to offer. Let the percentage of the share the Imperial Government should obtain from each Provincial Government be carefully ascertained and fixed by parliamentary legislation. Let the percentage work automatically, that is to say, the Imperial Government should obtain more when the Provincials are enabled to obtain more and less when the Provincials obtain less by reason of famine or other causes.

We have already referred to the causes that have been assigned by Sir Dinshaw to the financial embarrassments of the Government of India. The most important cause is undoubtedly the growing interest charges on account of the large capital borrowed in England. Against this policy of breathless expansion of Indian Railways, he has always entered an emphatic protest.

Another source of financial trouble is undoubtedly the enormous military expenditure in which the people have no voice.

Two suggestions have been made to reduce the Indian Military expenditure, first to reduce the army and second to ask for a contribution from the Imperial Government.

As to the first alternative, even the *Pioneer* recommends it; but it would propose a reduction in the strength of the Indian troops alone. This is opposed by the unanimous voice of the Indian Press which voices enlightened Indian public opinion. For just consider what an Indian soldier costs and what a European. It appears from the Finance and Revenue Accounts for 1909-10 that the total cost of the European Army, consisting of 2,469 officers and 72,799 warrant officers and soldiers, in all 75,268, is a sum of 8·60 crore rupees by way of regimental pay and allowances, provision, and the charges paid in England. The total cost of the Indian Army consisting of 3,015 officers and 160,411 warrant officers and soldiers, in all 163,426, came to 6·40 crore rupees for regimental pay and allowances and provision. Thus each European costs 1,404 rupees and each Indian 492; in other words, it costs three times more to maintain European troops than Indian. If the strength of the European is brought back to that at which it stood up till 1885, say, 50,000, the saving by the reduction of 10,000 in all now would mean 1·40 crore rupees. To obtain the same retrenchment of 1·40 crore rupees would require the reduction of 28,000 Indian troops. Is it not wiser to curtail that limb of the Army which is needlesss and most costly? If, however, there is to be a reduction both in the European and the Indian Army, then it would be well to maintain a force of 50,000 for the former and 100,000 for the latter. The saving then would be in round figures nearly 3 crores—a very substantial saving indeed giving the greatest relief to the revenues and relieving the tax-payers from any fresh taxation which might be otherwise inevitable. With even a reduction of 5,000 European and 10,000 Indian soldiers the saving will be about 1¼ crore rupees.

Of course, the *Times* and other Chauvinistic papers in London, and their counterparts here, have been screaming aloud against the reduction of a single European soldier, but it is to be hoped that the prudent and economic Government of Lord Hardinge will not be deterred by that irrational hue and cry from courageously facing the financial situation in the face and rendering that just financial relief to India which is

called for. There is the greater hope of this, seeing how vigorously has the Under-Secretary of State in his budget speech laid emphasis on army retrenchment. By all means maintain the basal principle of having one European soldier for every two Indian. But it would be most unjust that while a European costs Rs. 1,404 per annum and an Indian only Rs. 492, to curtail the strength of the latter only and wholly maintain that of the former. That would be a crying injustice and otherwise impolitic from all points of view. But if the Chauvinist organs of British public opinion are anxious to see no European soldier reduced, then, they ought to be prepared in all conscience and equity to recommend to the British Treasury to bear a part of the cost of the European army in India, seeing that it is partially maintained in Imperial interests alone.

This brings me to the second alternative of the contribution to the Indian revenues from the British Treasury. So unbiassed and fair-minded a member of the Welby Commission as Mr. Buchanan observed in his minute to the Majority Report that "on general grounds and from our recent experience of the help that India's military strength can give to the Empire it is established beyond question that India's strength is the Empire's strength, and that in discharging these Imperial duties India has a fair claim that part of the burden should be borne by the Imperial exchequer. There may be difficulties as to the method of making the charge and the amount. As to the equity of the claim on the part of India there can be no doubt. I am sure every enlightened and fair-minded person, be he European or Indian, will endorse the justice of the suggestion which Mr. Buchanan had made but which, of course, did not commend itself to the majority of his colleagues. But the cogency of his reasoning and the fairness of his personal must be deemed to stand as good, if not better, to-day than they were first made fourteen years ago.

The death of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta in 1915 caused a void in the leadership of Bombay and Wacha was elected in his place

as the non-official leader of the people. He was elected Chairman of the Reception Committee of the first Session of the Commercial Congress which opened in Bombay under the presidency of Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy. He defined the scope of the Commercial Congress in these words :—

Commerce cannot exist without agricultural products which could be safely exported to foreign countries after what may be necessary for home consumption. So, too, with industries and manufactures. It is the combination of these triple factors which educes commerce, that is to say, exchange of products of one country with another. It should, therefore, be the constant aim and object of this Commercial Congress to stimulate the agricultural (including the breeding of live stock) and mineral prosperity of the land. That is to say, agriculture should be so extended and improved as to enable our hapless ryots to produce more at less cost so as to leave them a fair margin of profit. And in this connection I wish to lay the greatest stress on the institution of Agricultural Banks on the lines of the Egyptian Agriculture Bank with such modifications as may be deemed essential. No doubt, the Government has with laudable zeal during the last decade paid greater attention to the improvement of agriculture by a variety of means and have also spent a large *modicum* of revenue on that behalf. Yet much still remains to be accomplished and could be only accomplished by following the example of the United States of America. That country is a model one for purposes of agricultural improvement, and it is superfluous to state here that the Government of India should by and by spend larger and larger sums out of the annual revenue for the achievement of this great national object which really signifies the material salvation of the country. Every rupee spent on the extension and improvement of Agriculture must be deemed wholly reproductive. So far as to the

duty of the State in India. But more than the State private enterprise ought to take upon itself a thorough organisation of agricultural industry and agricultural credit on sound lines suggested by the prosperity of agriculture in the United States. The Government, at the best, can only be an auxiliary. It is the people themselves on whom lies the great responsibility of promoting the country's material prosperity by the larger and larger efforts they may put forth in the matter of agricultural organisation and credit. It is also needful to point out the great utility of further exploiting the rich mineral resources of the country, on active impetus to which Sir Thomas Holland so admirably gave when at the head of the Geological department. In the near future mineralogy and metallurgy should greatly attract the attention of men of the great enterprise and courage of the late Mr. Tata. The War has made us all quite alive to the variety of metallic ores which might be utilised for purposes both of the arts of war and peace in the great British Empire.

Lastly, there may be immense progress in foreign and inland trade but that would not necessarily signify the prosperity of millions of cultivators. It is only when Indian agriculture is placed on a sound economic footing which would conduce to the prosperity of the ryot that the country itself could be said to grow in wealth. The larger, therefore, the exports of agricultural and mineral products from the country, while leaving a fair margin of profit to the ryots, the greater the balance of trade in favour of the country *pari passu* with such a financial policy of the Government as would steadily lead to diminish sterling obligations abroad. This is the great goal to be borne in mind by the Commercial Congress.

Wacha was also appointed Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Indian National Congress in place of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. In a short but inspiring address he referred to the more important problems that press for

solution upon the attention of the public. He referred to the need for military training for Indians, for opening the commissioned ranks in the Army to Indians of repute and for giving greater scope for volunteering. The plea put forward by Wacha was happily endorsed by Lord, (then Sir S. P.) Sinha from his place as President of the Congress. Mr. Wacha then advised his countrymen to cultivate the habit of patience in politics. He put in a vigorous plea for self-government, but he thought that the path to obtain it was not strewn with roses. He did not believe that self-government would be given for the asking. In his opinion, "what is most essential and of paramount importance is the concentration of responsible opinion, well-reasoned, well-balanced and well-directed which might unmistakably reveal the fact that India is of one mind and one heart." Further, he urged the rulers to lay down "a far-seeing policy which will give a first instalment of genuine and living representation in the active government of the country, broad-based upon the people's will." This view was apparently in consonance

with the matured conviction of other leaders, and the Congress naturally adopted a resolution appointing a committee to frame a acheme which would be an improvement upon the present one.

CONCLUSION

These extracts sum up what one who has made a life-long study of the Indian economic problems has to say on the subject he has touched and they should be of great use to those who take this up in the future and work for the commonweal of the country. On the death of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta in November 1915 Wacha was unanimously elected to represent the Bombay Corporation in the Legislative Council—an honour fittingly bestowed on a sincere and life-long worker in the service of the motherland. Next year he was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council where for four years his ripe experience and eloquence were exercised in the cause of the nation's demand for Self-Government. The Government in fitting recognition of his great public services knighted him in 1917. In 1920 on the inauguration of the Montagu reforms

Sir Dinshaw found his proper place among the Council of Elders. Age and failing health has somewhat impaired the vigour of his public life and old friends and colleagues not unoften rubbed their eyes as they heard some of his recent speeches. Sir Dinshaw, during the last decade, has often differed from his old colleagues. The extremism of the latter day Congress has provoked his invectives, but though his angle of vision has changed considerably none could deny his splendid services to the Congress and to the nation. Indeed with Dadabhai and Mehta, Sir Dinshaw completes the triumvirate, who among the Parsis, were the pioneers of the national movement in India.

SIR PHEROZESHAH MEHTA

INTRODUCTORY

IN the long list of eminent Indians who have during the last half a century awakened in us a new political consciousness, quickened a new life with new hopes and aspirations, Sir Pherozeshah Merwanjee Mehta occupies a unique place. Next to Dadabhai Naoroji, he was by far the ablest and the most sagacious political leader and thinker of his time. And while Naoroji had imposed upon himself the gigantic task of rousing the British conscience to the more notorious of Indian grievances,—a task which he performed with such disinterested patriotism and conspicuous success—Sir Pherozeshah Mehta was devoting himself to the counterpart of that work in his own country and among his own people, training and educating them in those higher conceptions of political freedom and enfranchisement and in the preliminary cultivation

of those virtues, which alone can make self-government a blessing instead of a curse.

PARSIS AND INDIAN POLITICS

It is somewhat remarkable that some of the most prominent of the early workers in the field of our national regeneration came from a small community of foreigners but belonging to an Imperial race who founded, as refugees from the persecutors of Islam, a little settlement in the western coast of India a thousand and two hundered years ago. Framji Cowasji, Dadabhai Naoroji, Naoroji Furdoonjee, S. S. Bengalli, Pherozeshah Mehta, Dinshaw Edulji Wacha, J. N. Tata—what community, so restricted in numbers has produced such a remarkable group of patriotic and devout benefactors of the human race, all of them working in a strange land, among strange peoples and amid strange surroundings? As a commercial community in league with alien exploiters, the Parsees have much to gain and, if their "natural" leaders had so minded, might have secured for themselves preferential treatment from the ruling classes; but the doctrine of exclusiveness and isolation has always been

hateful to the best and the most thoughtful among them. This is how, at all events, the case struck Pherozeshah Mehta's ardent patriotism, and we have, no doubt, he voiced the general sense of his community when on an important occasion he told his Parsee friends who differed from him that :

> To ask the Parsee to isolate themselves and their interests from those or the other natives of his country is to preach something not only equally selfish, but a great deal more short-sighted and unwise. In our case, it would be almost a suicidal policy. Its ultimate effect would be only to reduce us to insignificance. We are a power in this Presidency as a small but enlightened and enterprising portion of the natives of this country, and, as such, participate in its greatness. Isolated as Parsees, pure and simple, holding ourselves aloof from the other natives of the country, without common interests common sympathies, and common co-operation, we might still remain an interesting community, but of no account whatsoever in the great march of events moulding the lofty destinies of this magnificent land.

SIR PHEROZESHAH'S PERSONAL TRAITS

Holding such exalted notions of the duties and obligations of every domiciled Indian, it is little wonder that Sir Pherozeshah Mehta should have dedicated the best part of his life to the service of India. And for that service he gave his unrivalled powers, a brilliant and vigorous intellect, a rich mind, a judicious temper and a striking and fascinating personality.

Bounteous nature was prodigal of her gifts to him, and he united to high intellectual gifts physical endowments of a very rare order. His commanding personality impressed itself on friend and foe alike.

HIS UNIQUE INFLUENCE

Nothing could better illustrate his unique influence than the remarkable combination set upon him some years ago from two strange quarters. We shall refer in the proper place to the attempts made by the "Harrison set" and the "Extremist set" to deprive him of the hold he had upon the thinking mind, both in the Anglo-Indian and Indian communities, but we mention them here only as showing what great efforts had to be made by the exponents of two creeds so different—administrative extremism and political extremism—to undo the work of a noble mind and a vigorous patriot. And the fact that he came out of both ordeals unscathed fully vindicates the principles he held fast throughout his career and his far-seeing wisdom and penetrating sagacity. His countrymen now realise that only by moder-

ation and sobriety can they hope to get their wrongs removed, and ensure for their country a gradual development of free institutions broadening slowly down from precedent to precedent. Sir Pherozeshah himself regarded these two combinations as the greatest tribute that had ever been paid to his political faith.

HIS DISTINGUISHING QUALITIES

If one would enquire what are those qualities which marked him off from the rest of his co-workers and made his influence so unique, we should think no better reply could be given than what was given by one who had ample opportunities of watching his career from the points of view, both of a sympathiser and of a critic. Speaking at a special meeting of the Bombay Corporation called for the purpose of congratulating him on the Knighthood conferred upon him by His Majesty in 1904, the Hon'ble Mr. (now Sir Ibrahim) Rahimtoola said that Sir Pherozeshah combined in him both the Bar and the Bench. He had no ready-made solutions for every public question nor did he purchase them for one

anna each from a newspaper Editor. He approached every question with an open mind and bestowed careful consideration on every argument for and against before making up his mind. And when he had arrived at a decision after bringing to bear upon the question a strictly judicial attitude, he threw himself forward in defending it with all the zeal of an advocate. He was enslaved neither by popular prejudices nor by the applause of listening senates. No dead weight of opposition either from the community or from the bureaucracy could shake him out of the position he had once taken. On not a few occasions he had to face popular opposition and official frowns, but he was never known to waver in his loyal and steadfast adhesion to his views. The frowns of the "Most Distinguished Service" he offended from his place in the Imperial Council on the occasion of the discussion of the Police Bill, he took as coolly and in as good humour as he did the hisses of his friends in defending Mr. Arthur Crawford. The public verdict is now agreed that in either case he was right.

EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION

It should be said that, from the first, fortune uniformly favoured Pherozeshah Mehta. He was born of respectable middle class parents on the 4th August, 1845, and was one year younger than that intrepid life-long associate of his, Mr. (now Sir) Dinshaw Edulji Wacha. His father was a successful partner of the firm of Messrs. Cama & Co., pioneer merchants, first of China and then of London, and had fully realised the value of sound liberal education. He himself had won a name for a bit of literary activity and readily put his son to College. Mehta belonged, therefore, to the first batch of young Indians who were the recipients of a high class European education. His College career was brilliant, and he gave such high promise that Sir Alexander Grant took a peculiar liking for him. He graduated in 1864 and passed with honors his M.A. six months later. He being the first Parsee M.A., Sir Alexander Grant resolved upon securing him the benefit of a few years' residence in Great Britain, and he was sent up to train himself for the Bar with Mr. Rustomji



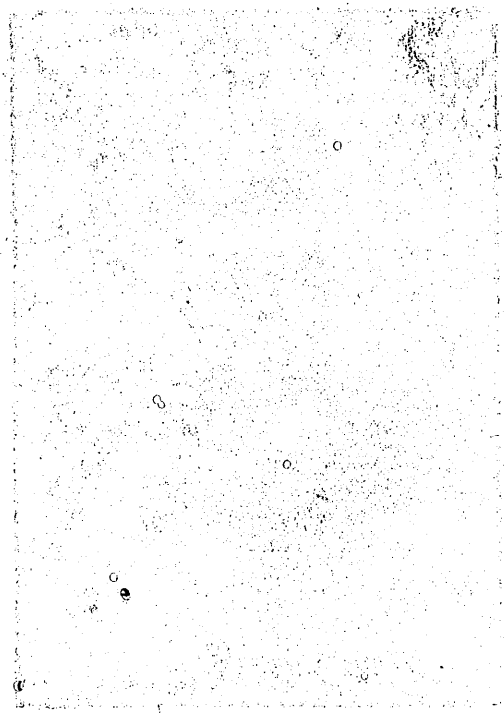
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SIR PHEROZESHAH MEHTA



Jamsetji Jeejeebhoy's travelling fellowship which however became only partially available to him owing to the adverse fortune that overwhelmed that philanthropist.

Nothing is so essential to liberalising and enlarging the mind and forming the character of an Oriental as a few years' stay, especially during the receptive age, in the bracing atmosphere of English University life. There, one has ample opportunities of participating in the social life of England so ennobling, vivifying and exhilarating, and gets many of his national prejudices and angularities removed. How much three years' stay at the Lincoln's Inn helped and moulded Pherozeshah we cannot measure, but that he made the best of his time and opportunities there is no doubt. He came into inspiring contact with Dadabhai Naoroji, who was even at that time fighting his lonely battle on behalf of India, and, of course, caught his genial spirit and fervid enthusiasm. Dadabhai Naoroji was closely connected with two important organisations, the London Indian Society and the East Indian Associations, at which papers were read on

Indian problems with a view to creating a healthy public opinion in England. Young Indians could avail themselves of the splendid opportunities their meetings afforded to train themselves for a political career. It was at these meetings that Mehta and W. C. Bonnerjee laid the foundations of a personal friendship and a political comradeship that were to bear such brilliant fruit in after-years.

THE MISSION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

While in England Mehta himself read a paper at a meeting of the East India Association on "The Educational System of Bombay," which is an eloquent plea for liberal education. Himself a splendid specimen of the new culture, he had a peculiar right to urge and emphasise its claims upon wavering Englishmen. We have in these days outgrown many pet theories and opinions of the nineteenth century but Pherozeshah's observations on the scope and object of liberal education are as memorable as those of Lord Macaulay himself. He urged in his paper :

> What is the real end and aim of all attempts to educate the natives of India? If the questions were put with respect to England, France, or Germany, we know what

the answer would be in its main general features—to induce the highest adaptability, either after an actual or an ideal standard, of all classes to the various social and political duties of their respective positions in life. But will the same answer suffice for India? Evidently not, from the simple fact of the simultaneous appearance of two civilizations most unequal in growth, one glowing with the strength and pride of full manhood, the other stinted early in its infancy, and sunk into concentrated childishness. Hence the first paramount aim of education in India is the absorption of the lower into the higher civilization, the reformation of the old system of culture by the new. Such a consummation was, however, not to be achieved, without great tact and delicacy. While inoculating its own dogmas, the new civilization would have to break up, expose, and analyse the old hereditary tastes, opinions, habits, customs, manners and modes of thought, those short rules of thought and action, unconsciously sucked in as first principles, self-evident and indisputable, from generation to generation. Such a process, if inaugurated, however, merely as dogma fighting against dogma, would be undoubtedly productive of a mental convulsion of the most unhealthy character, the result of which would be swayed by the most chance circumstances of life. And even the triumph of the higher civilization would not unfrequently assist in destroying its own object. The passive recipients of the new ideas would soon become liable to be taunted, and justly taunted, with the worst faults of shallow minds, irreverence to age and experience, childish petulance, and the pretence of knowledge without the reality. Such a transition period would be fraught with the gravest dangers, social and political. To win its way successfully and surely, the new civilization must come fully equipped and accoutred. It must bring with it not only all its settled creeds, but the proofs on which their higher truth is grounded. The Indian mind must be made to understand and appreciate it before it can be safely allowed to grapple with the old civilization. But what sort of education would be necessary for such a purpose, if not the highest possible sort of what is called liberal education? The question of popular education is perfectly legitimate, as the great educational question of the

day in England and other countries of Europe, where means for a high education are simply a patrimony. But it would be perfectly absurd and out of time and place to ascribe to it the same pre-eminence in India. An elementary knowledge of reading and writing, and arithmetic however widely diffused, would no more be able to break and loosen the hard ground of traditional prejudice than children's hatchets of paper, however numerous, would suffice to clear a jungle.

Such being the mission of liberal education in India, and such the high expectations formed of it by those who were instrumental in founding it, how far has the State consistently maintained its attitude to spread and not fetter the growth of this new exotic? How far did its measures succeed in accomplishing the original objects and intentions? Pherozeshah Mehta devoted another paper to the examination of this question, and for a well-reasoned criticism of the grant-in-aid system as recommended by the Despatch of 1854 and since followed by the Government, we can confidently recommend the reader to a perusal of the paper he read at the Bombay Branch of the East India Associations in 1869. In it Pherozeshah maintained that the Despatch of 1854 was based upon a thoroughly exaggerated idea of the endowments which

educational institutions would receive from Indian philanthropists, and which would need to be on the liberal scale of Great Britain, to justify a stinted and parsimonious support from Government under cover of fostering a spirit of self-reliance among the people. The fear entertained by Pherozeshah sixty-one years ago has been proved to be well-founded, and education has been made to starve for want of adequate financial support from the Government, though of recent years there is an attempt made by the Government to realise the importance of it, and they have increased their expenditure on education. Instead of resting satisfied with fitful doles of grant-in-aid, what the State should have done was to have established such a complete and co-ordinated system of primary schools, secondary schools, general and technical colleges and universities, as without being too elaborate, might be capable of expansion and development with the progress of the times. That was the ideal which the continental nations had steadily pursued. But then even to-day, the State is

oblivious of this elementary duty as if its interest lay in paralysing instead of furthering a co-ordinate system of education! It talks glibly of the "discontented B.A."; pretends to be shocked at the very poor quality of higher education imparted at present and steadily devotes whatever fund is available for education to the encouragement of primary schools. The battle between primary *versus* higher education is not a new one, and Pherozeshah made yet another plea for higher education in his address as President of the Provincial Conference held at Poona in 1892.

EAST INDIA BILL OF 1870

If the two papers on Education showed his firm grasp of principles and the attitude of judicious discrimination with which even at such early age he was wont to approach grave public questions, they revealed themselves even more emphatically in the paper on Clause 6 of the East India Bill which he read in 1870. The Bill was eminently fathered and protected. It took inspiration from Sir Stafford Northcote, was introduced under the auspices of the Duke of Argyll and was supported by

the Marquis of Salisbury. That it was, therefore, introduced with the best of intentions was beyond doubt, but in practical politics the best of intentions alone won't do. And the proposed legislation was open to attack for many reasons. An alternative proposal was before the country, namely, to allow a certain number of Civil Service appointments to be competed for in India itself, say, in the Presidency towns, and to require the selected candidates to complete their education by a sojourn of about two years in England. To state the alternative proposal should be to secure acceptance of it, but the responsible authorities thought otherwise. "In itself," said Pherozeshah, of Clause 6, "it embodies a measure of such a pernicious tendency that its rejection may involve the postponement of any settlement of the question for an indefinite period. It threatens to undo the most valuable results of the legislation of 1853 and 1858; it threatens to produce disorder and confusion in a department of the Indian Government, on which in a great measure depend the proper administration,

well-being and progress of India; it threatens to sow fruitful seeds of discord between races among whom they are already by far too abundant." It is needless to add that the Act remained a dead letter for years, and none of the beneficial results anticipated from it could ensue.

THE VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT

An evidence of his fearless independence was given so early as 1877, when at a public meeting held in the Town Hall of Bombay under the Presidency of the Governor, Sir Raymond West, he moved an amendment to the resolution on the Volunteer Movement. The public meeting had been called in the name of the whole citizens of Bombay with a view to forming a Volunteer Corps solely and exclusively among the European inhabitants for the better preservation of the safety of the island of Bombay. But an onesided and exclusive movement ought not to have been set on foot in the name of the entire citizens of Bombay, and when His Excellency asked if anyone wished to address the meeting, Pherozeshah got up and moved an amendment to the effect that "it is not advisable to

resolve on the formation of a Volunteer Corps composed exclusively of Europeans in a public meeting of the inhabitants of Bombay." Pherozeshah declared that he had nothing to say against the admirable objects of the promoters of the meeting, but the citizens of Bombay could not be a party to their own condemnation. Mr. K. T. Telang seconded the amendment, and those European organisers who thought that the people of Bombay could be so easily seduced, had to confess that it was intended only to call a meeting of European inhabitants and the word "European" was inadvertently omitted. Pherozeshah Mehta held very strong opinions on the question of the formation of Indian Volunteer Corps, and was opposed to the Arms Act. At the Fourth Session of the Indian National Congress held at Allahabad, there was a keen debate on the resolution relating to Arms Act and Pherozeshah made the following speech in support of the resolution, though Mr. Telang was opposed to it :—

It is always with the greatest regret that I differ from any view which is taken by my friend Mr. Telang. (Cheers). But I wish to state before the delegates in

this Congress assembled the reason why I steadfastly support the original resolution placed before you. (Cheers) It is said that the proposition is placed before you simply on sentimental grounds. Perhaps it is so, to a certain extent, if you look to the wording of the resolution. But the reason why I support that resolution is a different one. It is not sentimental, but eminently practical, and one of most vital importance. That consideration is, that you cannot, and ought not to, emasculate a whole nation. (Cheers.) It may be said that the time may come in future when these restrictions will be removed. But remember that when once the Indian people become emasculated, it will be a very long time indeed before you can get them to recover their manliness and their vigour. (Cheers.) That is my ground for supporting the proposition; and I say it is a practical ground. Perhaps, a good many of you remember the case of James II. who, when in his hour of peril, appealed to the Duke of Bedford (whose son had been murdered by the King) for help, to whom the old nobleman replied, 'I had once a son whom I could have sent for your assistance. But I have not got him now.' In the same way, in some hour of need India might have to say something similar to England. (Cheers.) I entirely recognize all the reasonable, and, to a certain extent, alarming difficulties which have been raised; but I say that, if you strive to follow a really far-sighted policy, you will realize from the lessons of history that it can never be wise to emasculate a nation. (Cheers.)

HIS WORK FOR THE CITY OF BOMBAY

Alluring as Imperial politics are Mehta's activities were not mainly taken up by them. Rather his best work was done for the Corporation of what they are proud to call the 'Kingdom of Bombay.' It would not be an exaggerated comparison if we place it

on a level with the work done by the late Mr. Chamberlain to the city of Birmingham. One might even say that it is rather an under-estimate inasmuch as it was to Pherozeshah's exertions, that the Bombay Corporation owes its present constitution and the reputation which it has acquired as the premier Corporation in India, if not in Asia. Consisting of seventy-two members, only sixteen of whom are nominated by Government direct, the Corporation is a miniature Parliament in itself and generally conducts its proceedings in a spirit of harmony, co-operation and mutual goodwill. How much of its success it owes to Pherozeshah may be gathered from what Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola said on the occasion to which we have already referred. He pointed out how, on many occasions, the consideration of important subjects had to be postponed to suit Pherozeshah's personal convenience. The Corporation considered his presence indispensable whenever important matters were to be decided once for all, and his views mostly prevailed.

THE CRAWFORD INCIDENT

Pherozeshah's Municipal life commenced so early as the early seventies and under circumstances of exceptional character. For the first time in his public career, he tasted the rule of mobocracy when, at the Framje Cawasji Hall, he came forward to defend Mr. Arthur Crawford's administration. Mr. Crawford's fault was that the happened to have very high notions of the sanitary and æsthetic requirements of a city like Bombay, which is the Gate of India, and he threw himself heart and soul into the work of effecting improvements. Only he forgot to attach due importance to the financial side of his well-meant and brilliantly executed schemes. When a period of deficit commenced, public opinion, that fickle voice of democracy, called for a victim, and Mr. Crawford had to be offered up as a sacrifice. The blame, of course, did not entirely lie on him; part of it stuck to the Bench of Justices. It was, as a supporter of Mr. Arthur Crawford, that Pherozeshah's active participation in the civic life of Bombay commenced. He vindicated him amid the hisses and yells of an

angry mob. But his paper on Municipal Reform has a value besides being an able defence of the discredited Crawford regime. It is devoted to vindicating the success of Municipal institutions in India and puts forward an eloquent plea for widening the basis and effecting improvements in the direction of giving real scope for popular opinion being reflected in them.

THE MUNICIPAL ACT OF 1872

Space will not permit us to refer in detail to the various schemes that were on the tapis at that time for reforming the Bombay Corporation. But the most alluring one urged by even such sagacious men as Mr. Nowrojee Furdoonjee, related to the vesting of the Executive power in the hands of a Town Council instead of a Municipal Commissioner. The failure of the Crawford regime had taught these one-sided critics but one lesson, the danger of vesting too large powers in the hands of the Commissioner. But Pherozeshah held otherwise, threw the blame for past failure on the Bench of Justices, and urged that there would "never be efficient

Municipal administration in Bombay till there is a popular and responsible Bench of Justices elected at regular intervals by the ratepayers themselves, a Consultative Town Council elected out of it, with a responsible Executive Officer at its head appointed by Government, and a Comptroller of Accounts appointed by Bench to control the Commissioner." These views, however, did not commend themselves to the Municipal reformers, and if mobocracy ever had elements of success, Pherozeshah's scheme would have been drowned in the chorus of opposition it raised. But the Government of Bombay fully appreciated the wisdom of Mehta's suggestions, and the Act of 1872 was passed on the lines suggested by him.

THE MAGNA CHARTA OF BOMBAY CITIZENS

The citizens of Bombay owe him not only the Act of 1872, but the Act of 1888, which they rightly regard as their Magna Charta of Municipal freedom. They owe it mainly to his indefatigable exertions in common with those of the late Mr. Telang. The Draft Bill was the handwork of Sir Charles Ollivant

and was conceived in a most illiberal and reactionary spirit. It naturally evoked considerable protest, and public feeling was so much irritated and such strong representations were made to the Bombay Government that Lord Reay thought it wise to leave it into the hands of Pherozeshah and Justice Telang to amend it as they might. The Bill was so considerably changed that the father of it could not recognise in it his own child. It was, of course, not so satisfactory as Pherozeshah Mehta liked, and many amendments had to be moved in the Council; but as Pherozeshah admitted on the third reading of the Bill, "no practical legislation in a matter of such complexity can ever be perfect from a special or individual point of view." So far as it went, it was drawn on "sound principles—sound in theory and tested by long experience," and as it was, an "eminently workable and practical measure." How incomparably superior the constitution of the Corporation is to that of any other in India, will be patent to any one who studies it and compares it with the rest. And the success

that has by all reports attended it, is due not only to the excellence of the Act, but to that "combined spirit of enlightened zeal and public spirit and of sound commonsense," which had always distinguished the conduct of Municipal affairs as much after as before the passing of that Act. In short, by the Act of 1888, Pherozeshah was principally instrumental in making the Corporation the superior administrative body—the ultimate tribunal whose decision must be final and binding.

THE VERNACULAR PRESS ACT

While the Corporation of Bombay engrossed most of his time and attention, it must not be supposed that he was in any way indifferent to the more pressing problems affecting all India. The Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton, like that of Lord Curzon in later times, afforded considerable opportunities to keep the public mind always alert and anxious. Pherozeshah Mehta availed himself of every occasion to speak out his mind. By far the most reactionary measure undertaken by his Government was the censorship of the press, which a benighted and

shortsighted bureaucracy conceives to be the only efficacious method of preventing the "seditious unrest." Pherozeshah Mehta did not deny the existence of "angry recriminations, exaggerated generalisations, pompous historical allusions, petulant expressions, of offended vanity or disappointed hopes," but he maintained that "of real disaffection or disloyalty there is absolutely nothing," and he believed that most of the mischief lay in distorted translations. Even supposing that the disease was more wide-spread than he believed, he would be no party to repression.

How truly can these words be applied to the situation in India at present!

THE NEW REGIME UNDER LORD RIPON

The close of the Lyttonian era marked an epoch in the history of India. The Lytton regime was notorious for many acts of reaction, both administrative and legislative. It saw the passing of the Vernacular Press Act, the levying of the cotton duties and the waging of an impious war with the Amir of Afghanistan. The political progress of the country received a set-back. But when

Lord Ripon came, he set himself to the undoing of all the reactionary measures of his predecessor and men began to breathe more freely. He introduced, or rather developed, a moderate scheme of local self-government, a measure which alone would have entitled him to the lasting gratitude of India. The finances of the country were set in order, and he sought to place the criminal administration of the country on a more equitable basis. All these wise and beneficent measures gave a new life and instilled a new hope in the minds of Indian politicians, and Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and others even went the length of memorialising His Majesty to extend the tenure of Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty. Though Lord Ripon's term was not extended, whether it be because of the passion and prejudice, which the Ilbert Bill evoked among the ranks of discontented Anglo-Indians, or because his popularity among the natives of India rose to such high pitch, that it was not safe to let him remain longer, lest his successors be embarrassed, his regime proclaimed that the solemn pledges and proclamations of the late Queen

Empress Victoria were not like pie-crusts made only to be broken, but solid and substantial things within reach of our hands, if we would only be true to ourselves and fight our battles, hope within and God overhead.

FAITH IN BRITISH RULE

Two principles always actuated Pherozeshah throughout his long political career, which he never failed to impress on his countrymen. The first was, that British rule in India is a thing which has not merely to be endured, but regarded as the will of an all-wise Providence. So early as during the Ilbert Bill controversy, he said, "if I entertain one political conviction more than another, it is that this country in falling under British rule, has fallen into the hands of a nation than which no other is better qualified to govern her wisely and well. Look among all the leading nations of the world, and you will not find one who, both by her faults and by her virtues, is so well adapted to steer her safe on the path of true progress and prosperity. It is true that the English are a stubborn piece of humanity, who might well be asked sometimes

to take to heart the exhortation addressed once to the chosen people of God, 'Circumcise, therefore, the foreskin of your heart and be no more stiff-necked,' but it must be acknowledged at the same time that it is perhaps this very trait which has preserved this country from rash and extreme experiments, and has put it on a path of sure, though slow, development." Pherozeshah Mehta met many defeats since then, perhaps more defeats than any other, at the hands of the Government, but defeats and disappointments which have put out less steady minds in no way modified his views, and in the course of his address as President of the Calcutta Congress in 1890, he said :—

I have no fears but that English statesmanship will ultimately respond to the call. I have unbounded faith in the living and fertilising principles of English culture and English civilization. It may be that, at times the prospect may look dark and gloomy. Anglo-Indian opposition may look fierce and uncompromising. But my faith is large, even in Anglo-Indians. As in the whole universe, so in individuals, and communities, there is a perpetual conflict going on between the higher and lower passions and impulses of our nature. Perhaps some of you have read a little novel, called Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, the plot of which hinges on the conflict between two sides of a man's nature, the higher and the lower embodied each, for the time being, in a separate and distinct individuality. If the lower tendencies are some-

times paramount in the Hydes of Anglo-Indian society, if, as our last President Sir W. Wedderburn said, the interests of the services are antagonistic to and prevail over the interests of the Indian people, it is still the oscillation of the struggle; it is still only one side of the shield. These cannot permanently divest themselves of the higher and nobler nature, which, in the end, must prevail and which has prevailed in so many honourable, distinguished and illustrious instances. They are after all a part and parcel of the great English nation, bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh, and they must ever work along the main lines of that noble policy, which Great Britain has deliberately adopted for the government of this country. When, in the inscrutable dispensation of Providence, India was assigned to the care of England, one can almost imagine that the choice was offered to her as to Israel of old: 'Behold, I have placed before you a blessing and a curse; a blessing, if ye will obey the commandments of the Lord your God: a curse if ye will not obey the commandments of the Lord your God but go after other gods whom ye have not known." All the great forces of English life and society, moral, social, intellectual, political, are, if slowly, yet steadily and irresistibly, declaring themselves for the choice which will make the connection of England and India a blessing to themselves, and to the whole world, for countless generations.

Again, as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the National Congress held in Bombay in 1904, he renewed his confession of faith and declared:—

I am an inveterate, I am a robust optimist like my late friend Mahadev Govind Ranade. I believe in divine guidance through human agency. It may be the fatalism of the East, but it is an active, not a passive fatalism, a fatalism which recognises that the human wheels of the machinery must actively work to fulfil their appointed task. My humility saves me from the despair that seizes more impatient souls like those who have

recently preached a gospel of despondency—I always seek hope and consolation in the words of the poet:

"I have not made the world and He that has made it will guide."

I derive patience from the same poet's teaching:

"My faith is large in time, and that which shapes it to some perfect end."

My steadfast loyalty is founded upon this rock of hope and patience. Seeking the will of Providence, like Oliver Cromwell, in dispensations rather than revelations, seeing God's will like him in fulfillment of events, I accept British rule, as Ranade did, as a dispensation so wonderful, a little island set at one end of the world establishing itself in a far continent as different as could be, and that it would be folly not to accept it as a declaration of God's will.

Holding such views and unwavering in his loyal devotion to the Throne, he always examined the policy and principles of the Government only from the view whether it was conducive to the steady growth and development of the people's attachment to it based upon the enduring foundations of self-interest, as it was already based upon tradition and immemorial usage. And that was why he was enabled to criticise the Government most effectively. But it was not merly in the interests of the permanence of British rule in India that the measures of Government should be examined, but they should also be examined in the interests of the continued

growth of democratic institution in the United Kingdom itself. A policy of force in India is incompatible with the uncorrupt existence of free institutions at home. In the long run the one must tell upon the other. There is a Nemesis attending a policy of force. "In progress of time," said Pherozeshah Mehta during the Ilbert Bill controversy, "large numbers of Englishmen trained in the maxims of despotism and saturated with autocratic predilections, would return to their native home, where they could not but look with intolerance on free and constitutional forms. This is no visionary speculation. Careful English observers have already noticed traces of such a tendency. In the course of a few generations such a tendency, if not checked, would develop into a mighty influence, and the free and constitutional Government of England, which has been so long the pride of the world, would be placed in the deadliest jeopardy.

. . England must raise India to her own level, or India will drag her down to hers." Contemporary history gives ample evidence of how the Anglo-Indianism of the day has

infected public life in the United Kingdom with its political virus.

INDIA AND ENGLISH PARTY POLITICS

The second guiding principle was that if India is to be better governed, that can be only when Indian question are viewed from the party stand-point, and, of course, Sir Pherozeshah's affections leant towards the Liberal Party. Till the fierce searchlight of party criticism sheds its lustre upon Indian questions, the British elector can never hope to learn the truth about India except through the spectacles of the "men on the spot." In holding this view, Sir Pherozeshah found himself no doubt in opposition to the views, not only of men like Lord Curzon in England but also a body of educated Indians themselves even among his own colleagues. These latter believe that we ought to make our appeals to the commonsense of Great Britain and avoid creating an enemy in the doubtful attempt to secure a friend. But as it happens, no question has ever been brought within the range of practical politics in England without one or other of the parties taking an active

and party interest in it. If the Conservative party is willing to befriend India, nobody has any objection to its doing so, though the Conservative way of doing things may not be always approved. But then before the advent of the Labour party we have obtained whatever little support we should be thankful for, only from the Liberal party. And so, Pherozeshah held that we should make every endeavour to enlist its support for our cause. That was the view of Sir Pherozeshah and it must be remembered that the Labour Party, as we know it now, had not then come into being. In the circumstances of to-day the Labour Party is exactly in the same position as the Liberal Party of those days. And judging by his attitude to the Liberal Party Sir Pherozeshah, if he were alive to-day would probably throw in his lot with the party of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald.

THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY ASSOCIATION

Till 1885, the political activities of Pherozeshah Mehta had, of course, to be fitful by reason of the want of political organisations. In that year the Bombay Presidency Associa-

tion was started, of which he continued to be President till his death, and the Indian National Congress held its first sittings in Bombay under the Presidency of Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee. Ever since, Pherozeshah was in the forefront of all our political fights and was taking a leading part in all movements set up for our political advancement.

The Bombay Presidency Association was the chief vehicle through which his views on the many problems of the day used to be communicated to the authorities both here and in England, and if the representations made by that body were couched in terms of respectful moderation, they were always firm and unflinching in the views urged in them. During the last forty-five years of its existence, the Association had adopted and sent up many memorials to both the Local and Imperial Governments on a variety of topics, and they have always received the respectful attention of the Government. Of course, in the formation of the policy of the Government, the views of the Association have never played such conspicuous part as those played

by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and other sectarian Anglo-Indian organizations; but that cannot be helped. But the views of the Presidency Association have always been looked upon as being the mature convictions of the most thoughtful and sagacious of Indian political leaders and, therefore, deserving of respectful consideration. We may mention, as an instance the sensation created among the Imperial arithmeticians at Simla, when in 1894, the Association sent a memorial to the Viceroy's Council pointing out that the financial embarrassments of the Government were due not to exchange, as Sir James Westland maintained, but to the disproportionate growth of expenditure, a view which was subsequently endorsed by Sir Auckland Colvin and Sir David Barbour. This is one among many.

HIS SERVICES TO THE CONGRESS

Pherozeshah Mehta joined the Congress from the first and continued to be one of its directing forces. The Congress has had to pass through various stages of opposition, and ridicule, both from the Government and a section of the people in its initial stages, and

when the "young enthusiast" returned to Bombay, the place of its birth, five years after, robust and manly, Pherozeshah as Chairman of the Reception Committee, could claim for it that, if it had done nothing more than quicken into active life political Yogis, so long lost in contemplation, it had not lived in vain. Of the trials it underwent and triumphed over, he said:—

The first tactics employed by our opponents was to create disunion and dissension among ourselves (*Cries of "Shame."*) Well, gentlemen, in a country so vast and varied as India, it would be impossible, it would be unnatural to expect perfect and absolute unanimity. (*Hear, hear.*) It is no wonder that we have our halt, our lame and our blind, and that they would hobble off to what I may call the Indian political cave of Adullam at the call of Sir Syed Ahmed and Rajah Shiva Prasad. But when two gentlemen, so amiable, so patriotic, so anxious to display their loyalty, were united together in one party and formed the Anti-Congress United Patriotic Association, the same difficulty arose that was described by Mr. Bright, from whom I have borrowed my illustration, as having arisen in the case of the anti-Reform Adullamites. They were so like the Scotch terrier, who was so covered with hair that you could not tell which was the head or which was the tail of it. (*Laughter and cheers.*) Sir Syed Ahmed pulled vigorously one way, Rajah Shiva Prasad as vigorously the other; and they so pulled between them the poor popinjay they had set up, that it burst and poured out—to the amazement of a few and the amusement of us all—not the real patriotic staff with which it had been announced to be filled but the whitest and the purest sawdust. (*Renewed laughter and cheers*). The utter collapse of this vaunted Patriotic Association has taught

our opponents a significant lesson. Every blandishment had been employed to lure prince and peasant; but prince and peasant alike would have none of it. It would be difficult to gather a more convincing, if passive and indirect, proof that the heart of the country is with us, and that it understands and appreciates the honesty, the loyalty, and the propriety of the movement (*Cheers.*) I should like to say here one word to the delegates from Bengal and the N.-W. Provinces, lest they should imagine that I have referred to these events, which pertain more particularly to their provinces with the object of indirectly boasting of our own immunity from human frailty. (*Cries of "No, no."*) Let me at once proceed to assure them that we in this Presidency have also our halt, our lame, and our blind. We also have had our little cave of Adullam. (*Laughter and cheers.*) But I am glad to be able to inform you that we have taken the infection very mildly, and that there is every hope of a speedy and complete recovery. (*Laughter and cheers.*) Baffled in the attempt to disunite us, our opponents had recourse to a measure of extraordinary virulence. They raised against us a cry as terrible as the cry of heresy, which was sometimes raised in the old days of the Inquisition to crush an obnoxious personage, otherwise unimpeachable and invulnerable. They raised against us the cry of sedition and disloyalty. (*Cries of "Shame."*) It was a cry well calculated to create alarm and uneasiness even among persons otherwise well disposed towards us. The Congress has, however, met the charge firmly and boldly (*cheers*), by a steadfast appeal to the authoritative record of our words, thoughts and deeds, and to the personalities of the members composing it year after year. (*Renewed cheers.*) It was conclusively shown that the charge was founded on calumnies, lies and misrepresentations. (*Renewed cheers.*) Then, gentlemen, something like the old story of the wolf and the lamb enacted itself. True, you may not be disloyal yourselves, said the wolf, that does not matter at all; it is quite enough that your great-grandfathers were, and your great-grandchildren might be. The Congress has, however, emerged unscathed even from this trial. Never was a greater truth uttered than that to which our esteemed friend Mr. Caine gave utterance, that we of

the Congress are more loyal than Anglo-Indians themselves (*Loud cheers.*) If by loyalty is meant a keen solicitude for the safety and permanence of the empire, in which we are firmly persuaded, lie implanted the roots of the welfare, the prosperity, and the good government of the country, then we are certainly more loyal than Anglo-Indians, who do not hesitate frequently to subordinate the interests of that safety and that permanence to the seductions of conquest and vainglory, or to the immediate gains and temptations of commercial enterprise. (*Hear, hear and cheers.*)

The next year he was invited to preside over the Congress held in Calcutta. At the Fifth Congress presided over by Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Charles Bradlaugh was present to make a personal study of Indian questions and personal acquaintance of Indian political leaders, whose value cannot be overestimated. In reply to the Address voted by the Congress and presented to him on the occasion, Mr. Bradlaugh promised to do all one man could do to further the cause of political reform in India. And true to his word, he introduced a Bill for the further expansion of the Indian Legislative Councils. The scheme provided for the election of members to the Councils and for their numerical expansion, and therefore was much in advance of the official scheme. The Presi-

dential Address of Sir Pherozeshah was devoted to making an effective plea for the expansion of the Councils on the lines suggested by Mr. Charles Bradlaugh. The reform that was subsequently made by the Act of Lord Cross, of course, bears no resemblance to the one introduced by Mr. Bradlaugh; but it was one thing gained that the principle he fought for, namely, the introduction of the representative element in Legislative Chambers was approved and adopted. Not only has it proved a success but Lord Morley and Lord Minto felt the need for a further expansion of the Councils both Imperial and Provincial, and the reforms with which their names would ever be associated were introduced in 1909. After a lapse of fifteen years, the Congress met again in Bombay under the presidency of Sir Henry Cotton. Many things had taken place since the first meeting in the same city, many things to shake the confidence of even robust workers, in the political honesty and uprightness of the authorities, to depress beyond hope of recovery the less optimistic among them, and drive away the more

irritable natures to talk of and adopt measures of retaliation. One section of the people had already begun to ask if the money spent over the Congress, some fifty-thousand a year (in those days) was not so much money wasted and whether it would not be advisable to turn our attention away from the "mendicant policy." To this Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, who was Chairman of the Reception Committee, replied in these wise terms:—

Our Pavillion is not a gothic temple with marble pillars and tesselated floors! It is a structure of unhewn posts and canvas, decorated with strips of cheap muslin of Congress colours to look gay. We have not housed you in palatial buildings: the canvas camp in which you are lodged has all and more than all the severity of military exigencies in a far campaign. To the amount thus spent our kind friends insist upon adding the travelling changes as if all the delegates would never have during Christmas stirred out of their houses to enjoy the Christmas holidays, even if they were not attending the Congress. But even taking the whole total thus added up, I venture, gentlemen, to say boldly that all this and much more would be well-spent for fulfilling the purpose for which the Congress has been organised, and for achievtng the aim and end for which the Congress is constituted. To those who decry the monies spent upon it as monies wasted on a show and a *tamasha*, I would say that they are no more men of real insight and true imagination, than those whom one of the greatest of English poets—Wordsworth—has described with such infinite pity for their incapacity to enter into the true inwardness of things:—

A primrose by the river's brim,
A yellow primrose is to him,
And nothing more.

But if you realise it clearly and fully, there is no purpose more important, no mission more sacred, than the one that the Congress fulfils in the three short days to which it confines its session. It would be absurd to say that the Congress meets to deliberate on, discuss and decide all the important subjects with which it deals. That task must be and is largely performed in the course of the year by such institutions as we may possess for forming Indian public opinion, in the common intercourse of social life, in local bodies more or loss active, in the native press which is undoubtedly daily growing more and more capable and potent. At the end of the year we all meet together from different parts of the country, representatives of the people, not selected, it is true, by any authoritative or scientific process, but still representatives in all the various ways in which virtual respresentation works itself out in the early stages of its progressive development, representatives who are of the people and in immediate touch and contact with them, representatives realizing in themselves the wants, the wishes, the sentiments, the aspirations of the people, representatives whose education has qualified them to ponder over grave questions of polity and principle in their application to the administration and government of this country in all their complex relations of a foreign rule, representatives into whom education has instilled an earnest, devoted, and enlightened loyalty to the British Crown and a keen solicitude for the safety and permanence of the British Empire in which, they are firmly persuaded, lie implanted the roots of the welfare, the prosperity and the good government of this country. I say, we delegates, representatives of the people, meet together at the end of the year to give voice to the public opinion of the country taking shape and formulating throughout the year, to present our Petition of Rights, our Grand Remonstrance, our appeal and our prayer for a firm and unfaltering grasp of a policy of wisdom and righteousness, for the reversal of retrograde measures inconsistent with such a policy and for the adoption of means steadily ensuring the gradual development of free political progress, broadening slowly down from precedent to precedent.

Such an appeal and such a prayer can be most effectively offered at a great gathering like this by the unanimous voice of delegates assembling from all parts of the country. If, gentlemen, we did nothing more than make this solemn petition and this earnest prayer, we shall not have spent our monies in vain, we shall not have laboured for nought.

THE POLICY OF THE BUREAUCRACY

The policy of the bureaucracy may be compared with that delightful "Poor Man's Friend, Sir John Bowley, so admirably depicted by Dickens :—'Your only business, my good fellow, is with me. You need not trouble yourself to think about anything. I will think for you ; I know what is good for you ; I am your perpetual parent. Such is the dispensation of an all-wise Providence. . . what man can do, I do. I do my duty as the Poor Man's Friend and Father ; and I endeavour to educate his mind, by inculcating on all occasions the one great lesson which that class requires, that is entire dependence on myself. They have no business whatever with themselves.' This is a policy which, Sir Pherozeshah urged, is demoralising both to the rulers and the ruled, but it has been a policy to which the bureaucracy has committed

itself for long. In the pre-Curzon era, however, the bureaucracy would let the world know what it was going to do; if it appointed a Commission, it would publish its report, so that the people may prepare themselves for what is in store for them. But after Lord Curzon came into power, the bureaucracy became even more *purdha nashin*, and kept everything concealed from the public gaze. Sir Pherozeshah condemned this bureaucratic *purdha* in the following terms:—

Formerly the reports and evidence were immediately issued to give time for public discussion and criticism before Government proceeded to deal with them. At St. Andrew's Dinner, at Calcutta, the other day, Sir Andrew Fraser vindicated the new policy not only with regard to the report of the Police Commission, but with regard also to other important subjects engaging the attention of Government stating, as an axiomatic truth, that no statement could be properly made in regard to them till the decision of the Secretary of State for India was received. It seems to benighted non-officials like us that this course is an exaggeration of the demoralized attitude of a secret and irresponsible bureauracy as Sir C. Dilke called it. The Secretary of State in this way arrives at a decision under the inspiration of the Government of India without the benefit of open and public discussion. And we know how hopless it is to expect any modification of the decrees issued by the Secretary of State from subsequent discussion and criticism. Indeed, in such cases we are gravely told that it would be sacrilegious to touch with profane hands the tablets sent down from Mount Sinai. The mischief thus done is so incalculable that I would fain take the liberty to ask the bureaucrats of our Indian Administration to ponde

over the observations of one of the ablest and keenest of political thinkers—Mr. Walter Bagehot: 'Not only,' says he, 'does a bureaucracy tend to under-government in point of quality; it tends to over-government in point of quantity. The trained official hates the rude, untrained public. He thinks they are stupid, ignorant, reckless—that they cannot tell their own interest. A bureaucracy is sure to think that its duty is to augment official power, official business, or official numbers rather than leave free the energies of mankind: it over-does the quanity of government as well as impaire its quality." These words were spoken of bureaucracy in civilised European countries. They apply with tenfold force in this country with its Official Secrets Act, which it is a mistake to suppose is inert while it does not explode in public prosecutions. The Act puts a premium on corruption on the one hand, and on the other, it surely and inevitably deteriorates and demoralizes irresponsible officials working in the dark.

WORK IN THE BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

In 1886, he was appointed by Lord Reay member of the Bombay Legislative Council. It was during this time that he helped so successfully in the passing of the Municipal Act of 1888, to which we have already referred. He continued to sit as a member of the Council till his death; and his services as a Legislator were valued very highly as much by the Government as by the people. His annual budget speeches in the Local Council were looked forward to with immense interest by the Government as his criticisms were

always practical, suggestive and reasonable. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta's career, as a Legislator, was distinguished by many important events, and the Government could never have had a better and more capable interpreter of the people's mind or a more fearless critic of their policy than he. A generous foe, he was never wanting in honest admission of the capacities of the Anglo-Indian administrators; he was more generous towards them than Lord Randolph Churchill, who had a very low opinion of the average. But he would never take them at their own valuation as the only persons who knew the people of India, their wants and grievances, and, therefore, the best fitted to legislate for them. This self-complacency on the part of the Government has led to their introducing many legislative measures which otherwise they would never have introduced. Sir Pherozeshah could not help coming in serious conflict with them, and though votes had not been always on his side, we know on which side reason usually lay.

Of his courage and strength of will and of the high example of integrity and independence

he displayed in the Council many a story has been recalled. One such is told by the Rt. Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri in the *Indian Review*, soon after Sir Pherozeshah's death. On one occasion, when the Land Revenue Administration of Bombay had been severely criticised by the Hon. Mr. Goculdas Parekh, an Official member, who had been stung to the quick, forgot himself so far as to say that the ryots were becoming more and more contumatious because their friends and supporters in the Council and outside were inculcating habits of dishonesty. When Sir Pherozeshah's turn came to speak, the scene in Council was worth seeing. He was obviously agitated, and while the house listened with tense feelings, went into the history of Bombay assessments and remissions, showed how the Government of India had to intervene to rescue the ryot from the oppressiveness of the Bombay revenue official, and wound up finally by raising his voice and exclaiming with a minatory gesture: "As for inculcating habits of dishonesty, I cast the accusation back into the teeth of him who made it." "When he

related this story to Mr. Gokhale," wrote the Rt. Hon. Sastry, "he clapped his hands in admiration and said : " Only Mehta could have done it ; he never fails to rise to the occasion."

It was this manly outspoken way of utterance and the tone of equality with the highest in the land that came naturally to him which had sounded so unfamiliar and so unseemly in the ears of an earlier generation of officials when first Sir Pherozeshah's voice was heard in the Imperial Legislative Council in the last years of Lord Elgin and the first years of Lord Curzon.

We have already referred to his services in the Council on behalf of the Corporation of the City of Bombay. To dilate on the numerous other questions on which he fought the people's fight will not be possible within the limits of this short sketch. He came into strong conflict with the Government on a variety of topics. The most memorable conflict was over the Bombay Land Revenue Bill. Sir Pherozeshah opposed it with all the eloquence he could command, but the bureaucracy had made up its mind, and he lost. But

the problem of agricultural indebtedness still remains unsolved even by the confiscatory legislation. The money-lender thrives; poverty thrives too. And State-landlordism has not proved the panacea for the ryot's ills it was hoped it would prove to be. Sir Pherozeshah's dramatic exit from the Council Chamber declining to participate in the passing of the Bill by sheer force of numbers is well known. In the last of the three admirable letters he wrote to the *Times of India* on the Bill, he defended his position in the following terms:—

This is my last letter. The new legislation has created a situation more serious and melancholy than some people imagine. The attempt to restore the confidence of the ryots by assuring resolutions of Government is unavailing. Government no doubt started with good intentions. But good intentions without careful guidance often lead to unexpected and contrary results. What is the spectacle that confronts us now? So far as the experiment of a restricted tenure is concerned, for the present there is very little scope for it. But while the ryot expected that he would get suspension or remission, if he could not pay arrears without incurring debt, he has been frightened into precipitate payment of arrears by getting deeper into debt on worse terms than before, with a fresh famine looming before him in some parts of the

Presidency. He could have expected some forbearance from his *sowcar* in the latter's own interest; he is now threatened with harassing process for the protection of that interest, the rash for decrees and the imminence of sales under them. All the while he sees that, instead of the promised benefits to him, it is the Government that has benefited by a rapid recovery of arrears. Do not blame him, his ignorance or his perversity if his reliance in Government is shaken. He only watches from afar, and knows not that Government sincerely meant to ameliorate his lot. It shows once again that you cannot do good to people by going against their grain. When you charge my colleagues and me with clamouring for measures to remedy the ryots lot and yet resist the remedies that are offered, it is in this error that you fall. Clamour for remedies does not involve the acceptance of any remedies, however misconceived and however unsuitable. When we clamoured for remedies we clamoured for such as suited the patient's constitution and were really potent to cure the disease from which it suffered. We did not bargain for prescriptions conceived in haste and applied in hurry, without thought of his debilitated condition both of body and mind. It is not true to say that we created the agitation and led it. On the contrary, we did not stir till the agitation grew and grew, and we convinced ourselves that it was voluntary and sincere, that it was not altogether ignorant and unfounded. Then, it is true, we did what little in us lay, to be their spokesmen and interpreters before Government. Then, it is true, we strove to induce Government to be patient and forbearing. My amendment before the Council was ex-

pressly a plea for patience and conciliatory wisdom. Therefore, it was that we laboured to gain time for wiser counsils to prevail on all sides. We have failed in the Council. But the melancholy spectacle that confronts us all over the land, will it not move you and stir you to help us still in the good work of bringing back peace and contentment over the land which we all love so well.

WORK IN THE VICEREGAL COUNCIL

Great and valuable as Sir Pherozeshah's services were as a member of the Bombay Legislative Council, his services in the Imperial Council were equally great and valuable. So long as he remained in the Council, he made his influence perceptibly felt. Here, again, it was the old story, official majorities carrying off the day by sheer force of numbers according to the mandate theory that rules the proceedings of the Council, and non-official amendments being thrown out in regular succession. The Bills, no doubt, are supplied with a sufficient quantity of ballast, which are thrown out in the Select Committee, in view of the representation of the non-official members and which deceive nobody. But when once the Government have made up their minds on a certain line of action, they

are impervious to any reasonable representations that may be made to hold back. Though Sir Pherozeshah did not always succeed in carrying his points against the serried ranks of official opposition, he clearly gave them to understand that with the Legislative Councils, the era of dumb-show had closed and that henceforth their measures would be subjected to keen and searching discussion and debate. He spared nobody in the Council; he did not hesitate to call the spade, a spade.

In the very first year of his election to the Imperial Council, he came into collision with the official members, more especially Sir Antony (now Lord) MacDonnell and Sir James Westland. The former was in charge of the Police Bill, which had evoked considerable opposition not only from the people, but also from a body so loyal to official measures as the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. Some of its provisions were so obnoxious that it met with the stoutest opposition from every Anglo-Indian paper of note. The object of the measure was to convict and punish individuals without Judicial trial under cover of executive

measures for the preservation of order, and Sir Pherozeshah hit hard by declaring that he could not conceive of legislation "more empirical, more retrograde, more open to abuse, or more demoralising. It is impossible not to see that it is a piece of that empirical legislation so dear to the heart of Executive officers, which will not and cannot recognise the scientific fact that punishment and suppression of crime without injuring or oppressing innocence must be controlled by Judicial procedure and cannot be safely left to be adjudged upon the opinions and moral certainties of men believing themselves to be capable, honest and conscientious." But the officials decked in brief authority were not accustomed before to such plain speaking, and Sir Pherozeshah was accused of introducing a "new spirit" into the Council Chamber. The new spirit was nothing else than declining to say ditto to official views and expressions, and getting presumptuous enough to condemn them. But by the criticism on the Police Bill, Sir Pherozeshah only gave a foretaste of his incisive irony, pleasant sarcasm and brilliant

invective. On the occasion of the Budget debate, he rose to his full height and his first Budget speech will stand as a memorable landmark in the annals of the Imperial Council. It is a masterly criticism of the financial policy of the "most distinguished service" in the world, clothed in language of provoking banter and playful sarcasm. He delivered two more Budget speeches, and though they did not come up to the standard of the first, they were also couched in the same spirit and afford equal instruction.

WORK IN THE BOMBAY SENATE

One more direction in which his labours were equally long and honourable, has to be noticed, and that was his work in the Senate. The warm interest which he had taken in matters educational have already been referred to, and his Budget speeches in the Bombay Legislative Council especially show ample evidence of his whole-hearted fight to get more money from the Government to be expended upon education. He always maintained that India wanted more of higher education than of

primary education and spared no pains to make the system of education as high as possible. As one of the oldest members of the Senate, who took a deep and abiding interest in the progress of education in India, perhaps no one was more conscious of its defects than he, but no one was more surprised at the way in which the Government of Lord Curzon sought to remedy the evil. "Whatever there is unsatisfactory," he pointed out at a meeting of the Senate, "in the turn-out of our University system is mainly due to the default of Government in this respect. So far back as the sixties, Sir Alexander Grant put this finger on this weak point. Were but two per cent. of the Presidential revenues allowed to Bombay, the whole aspect of the Department and the Universities might in my opinion', he continued, 'be speedily changed for the better.' I will venture to say that if Government would be pleased to spend the needful moneys on fully and properly equipping our High Schools and Colleges, we may safely leave, as they are, our Senates though

said to be unwieldy, and our Syndicates though not statutory.' But the neo-reformers had other objects in view, which was to take back control of education under European hands from the hands of the people, and restrict its area to a limited few who may have the wealth if not the brains to go in for it. "Whether the Universities will be made teaching Universities as is so often insisted on, is a nebulous problem left to Providence in the future." "What is certain is" summed up Sir Pherozeshah, "that a clean sweep is made of the integrity and independence of the Senate which have been such valuable factors of healthy growth in the past."

AS A PIONEER OF SWADESHI CONCERNS

Sir Pherozeshah Mehta was not actively engaged in any industries, but he was a true Swadeshi before Swadeshism was born in India. One instance of his enthusiastic love for Swadeshism he gave in his speech at the Ahmedabad Industrial Exhibition. "In the Seventies," he said, "in conjunction with some of my friends like the late lamented Mr. Justice Kashinath Trimbak

Telang, I and others, who were keen in our new-born enthusiasm to promote the industries and arts of India, started a Soap Factory. "We scrupulously attended every meeting of the Board of Directors, for we were on the Board of Directors, to see that the concern was successful. Well, ladies and gentlemen, it is only as a case of 'self-sacrifice' that I mention it before Mr. Lely, that we lost every pie of our money."

PUBLIC APPRECIATION OF HIS SERVICES

These varied services of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta could not fail to receive the approbation of his countrymen. The Bombay Provincial Conference and the citizens of Bombay voted him addresses which were presented on December 20, 1895, while the citizens of Calcutta gave him an address early in March of that year signed by over 3,500 citizens of Calcutta, and presented by Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee. The Corporation elected him successively in 1884 and 1885 as its President, an honour which none else has received at its hands, and it was recognised that he made the best Chairman, which was the appellation prior to

the passing of the Act of 1888. He was once more elected by acclamation in 1905, the year which witnessed the visit of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. Further His Majesty made him Knight Commander of the Indian Empire. He enjoyed, therefore, the rare approbation not only of his own countrymen, but of the Government.

His independence brought him many enemies, and two movements were started to dethrone him from his pedestal. The one was initiated by Mr. Harrison who formed a caucus during the municipal election in 1907 and issued a "ticket" to the Justices of Peace of the City of Bombay with a view to defeating him. Although Sir Pherozeshah's party was severely defeated, he himself got in, but the movement showed that Sir Pherozeshah was regarded even by the "distinguished members of the service" as too masterful and if the Government officially wanted to make the Corporation of Bombay their tool, they could do so only when Sir Pherozeshah was out of it. It showed that Anglo-Indian officials were intolerant of "tall poppies" and wanted to cut

them down. But this spirit did not seem to be confined to the Anglo-Indians of Bombay, but it permeated even higher circles.

The other movement to which we shall refer was the one initiated by certain Extremist leaders against him. Although their movement was alleged to refer only to broad and general questions relating to the Congress and the future of our political work, it was evident that the campaign carried on by them was personal, culminating in the breaking up of the Congress at Surat. What efforts and manœuvres they made with that view, it is perhaps unnecessary to state here; but the effect was that the policy and principles of Sir Pherozeshah found more general acceptance with the better mind of India than those of his political opponents.

AN IMPRESSIVE PERSONALITY

The years that immediately followed the two sets of opposition started against Sir Pherozeshah, were years of great importance. The bureaucracy in Bombay, which always gains the upper hand, was at the height of influence under Sir George Clarke, (now

Lord Sydenham) their Governor, and the people of India were agitated by two influences, those of Sir Pherozeshah and his followers, and those of his Indian political opponents who represented the more advanced school of thought. The position of any leader must under the circumstances be very trying. In the first place, he has to keep his countrymen within the bounds of loyal agitation and legitimate criticism and, on the other hand, his opposition to official measures must be such that it should not be said that non-official leaders do not realise the seriousness of their responsibility. Sir Pherozeshah's task was indeed very onerous. It may be said to his credit and to the credit of his large followers that, in the main, his views prevailed in the reconstruction of the Congress after the Surat split, and no greater tribute could be paid to him than the policy which Lord Morley was induced to adopt, namely, to rally the Moderates. Indeed Sir Pherozeshah always dominated the counsels of the Congress. Whether in the open Congress or in the Subjects Committee his personality was

so dominant that none dared oppose him. And on one occasion when a colleague, Lala Murlidar, complained of Mehta's aggressive personality he smilingly replied that he could not help it. In fact there were times in the deliberations of the Congress when it might be said that the fear of Mehta was the beginning of wisdom. That is to say, it was the force of a virile personality impressing itself upon all those who came in contact with it and bearing down all opposition by the sheer weight of its influence and authority. Soon after that session Mr. G. A. Natesan gave expression to the general sentiment in a letter he wrote to Pherozeshah, which Mr Mody quotes in his Biography. Mr. Natesan wrote :—

I can never forget the two happy evenings I passed at your house. I and my friends left Bombay with the regret that we were not privileged to stay there longer and be benefited by your inspiring personality—despite Lala Murlidhar's complaint about it. It is only after we saw you and watched you with reverence and affection that we realized the force of personality and leadership. In a leading article on 'Japan—its message in India, which I have written for the *Indian Review*, I have referred to you as 'the born and chosen leader of the Indian people.' This is what we all felt to be.

A LEADER OF STRONG PRINCIPLES

If Sir Pherozeshah Mehta had not taken a firm stand on behalf of constitutional agitation; and if he had not been followed by his numerous supporters, faithfully and loyally, who knows what would have been the policy of both the statesmen who gave us the reforms of 1911? As it is, the reforms were a vindication of the principles for which Sir Pherozeshah Mehta stood and fought.

It is, indeed, a delicate question whether Sir Pherozeshah's reticence after the Surat split and non-participation in many of the public movements, was good to the country. Whether he thought that he ought not to embarrass the leaders who were more in the fight by expressing any opinion, we cannot say; but there seems to be no doubt that he held strong opinions on certain important questions which did not find universal acceptance. It was well known that he did not agree with the reforms of Lord Morley giving communal representation. He was always against class preferences and communal representations, and the memorial of the Bombay Presidency

Association sent with his approval contained a strong protest against introducing the principle of sectional representation. Further, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta did not agree with many emergency legislations passed in the heat of panic by the Government of India to suppress sedition, and he declared that under no conceivable set of circumstances could the passing of the Press Act be justified. If the Press Act itself was so obnoxious in the eyes of Pherozeshah one wonders what he would have thought of the interminable ordinances of these days. Indeed on all questions of individual rights and liberties Sir Pherozeshah held very strong and uncompromising opinion. Like the great Victorian Liberals he would never tolerate undue interference of State, in any matter whatsoever —least of all in the citizen's right of freedom of expression. He was equally jealous of the rights of Indians abroad. On the question of Indian emigration to the Colonies and their treatment therein, his opinion was that we should fight for the open door. At a public meeting held in the Town Hall of

Bombay to protest against the treatment accorded to Indians in South Africa, under the presidency of His Highness the Aga Khan, he declared that we should fight for the principle of the open door for which all the European Powers, and Great Britain especially, fought in China.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN QUESTION

In fact on the position of Indians overseas Sir Pherozeshah held views which must be described as advanced, more advanced indeed than those of Gokhale or even Gandhi. Mehta gave unstinted support to Gandhi's passive resistance struggle in South Africa, and it was said that he did not quite approve of the settlement which he thought was a grievous surrender. In two notable pronouncements he made on the South African Indian question in the closing months of 1913 Sir Pherozeshah declared that he was one of those who had always stoutly maintained that there could be no justification for any part of the British Empire to deny to the other parts the equal rights of citizenship. Commenting on the

speeches, Mr. H. P. Mody writes in his *Life of Mehta* :

He had all along held that a subject of the Crown had a right of free entry and access to every part of the Empire. Englishman had no justification for insisting on the policy of the open door in Asia, and the closed door in other parts of the world. On this fundamental issue, it may be noted, he was absolutely uncompromising. It was here he parted company with Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Gandhi, who, faced with an extremely difficult situation, had given in on the question of principle, and had contented themselves with obtaining whatever terms they could exact from the Union Government to make the lot of the existing settlers more tolerable. Pherozeshah regarded this surrender as a cardinal mistake. He maintained that Indians could never give up the great and vital principle of Imperial citizenship. Time has brought about a striking vindication of Pherozeshah's point of view, on which such sharp differences of opinion existed at the moment, and has shown that in this as in many other things, his judgment was unrivalled, and his political instinct sure and unerring, The South African problem, in spite of all the twaddle about common sacrifices and brotherhood in arms to which we were treated while the German menace hung over the world, unfolds to-day the same old tale of injustice, arrogance and oppression, which have disgraced British Imperialism for a generation. Even the Smuts-Gandhi compromise seems to have gone by the board, and it is beginning to be realized that the Indian position would have been much stronger at the present moment, if the principle of

equal citizenship had not been sacrificed to the urgent needs of the situation.

Upon these and some other questions of great national importance, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta had the opportunity of defining his views clearly in Lahore, but at the last moment he regretted his inability to preside over the Congress. The reasons for that step have not been made clear. Whatever they may be, one can easily believe that his views would have been received with considerable interest both by the Government and the people. In 1910, he took a holiday to England. A farewell entertainment was given in his honor by his many friends, Indian and European, the Hon'ble Mr. Armstrong making a felicitous speech on the occasion, referring to the high regard in which the European community held him. Sir Pherozeshah made a comparatively long stay and availed himself of the opportunity, not only to renew many old friendships among retired Anglo-Indians, but of meeting many members of Parliament, besides the Secretary of State for India and the Under-Secretary for India. It is concei-

vable that he gave expression unreservedly and firmly to his views on these public questions, which should have been of immense value to them.

After his return from England, he returned to his active public duties, but though ill-health prevented him from playing the same part which he did of old, his zeal and interest did not diminish. Both in the Senate and in the Corporation he was active, and he did not fail to be present when important questions were under discussion. He gave evidence before the Public Services Commission re-stating and emphasising his views which were sanctified with his age and experience. The appointment of Lord Willingdon was a happy augury to Bombay, and so long as Sir Pherozeshah Mehta lived, His Excellency never failed to consult him on every public question. His Excellency's attitude was in striking contrast to that of his predecessor, and he was rewarded by a loyal co-operation which Lord Willingdon knew how to value. And His Excellency did what he could to mark his appreciation of Sir Pherozeshah's public

services, and he appointed him Vice-Chancellor of the University. The University, too, conferred upon him the title of Doctor of Laws. Both these honors were in his case singularly belated, but better late than never.

Thus Pherozeshah's was indeed a many-sided career, Whether on the Bombay Corporation, in the University, in the Congress, in the Bombay or Imperial Legislative Council he was everywhere supreme, "the brilliant speaker, the keen debater, the cautious but firm leader, with the compelling look, the towering personality."

"THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE"

One of the most important things that he did in the latter days of his life was to give Bombay a first-class English daily, owned by Indians. It was singular that in Bombay alone of all places there was not a capital Indian daily in the English language. Two reasons may be given for it, namely, that the Anglo-Indian papers in that city were edited with a certain amount of fairness and independence, and supported in the main the cause of progressive nationalism that was rare-

in other parts of India; and that the vernacular press had obtained a powerful hold which was unequalled elsewhere. The *Bombay Samachar*, the *Sanjvartman*, and the *Jame* were powerful dailies, while the *Gujarati* and the *Kaiser-i-Hind* had a large number of readers. Whether these were the true reasons or not, the necessity for an independent daily newspaper was felt as soon as the *Times of India*, under the Editorship of Mr. Lovat Fraser, set up the caucus against Sir Pherozeshah and his party. The immediate result of that caucus was the withdrawal of Mr. Lovat Fraser from Indian journalism and the appointment of Dr. (now Sir) Stanley Reed as the Editor of the *Times of India*. But the public feeling in favour of a well-conducted daily crystallised itself in the founding of the *Bombay Chronicle* which is proud enough to publish on the title page the excellent tribute to Mehta's memory, 'Founded by Sir Pherozeshah Mehta in 1913.'

In 1915, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta invited the Congress to Bombay, and as might be expected, was appointed Chairman of the Reception Committee. He had secured the consent of Sir S.

P. (later Lord) Sinha to preside over the Congress, and arrangements were well on the way; but he was not destined to be present at it and guide its deliberations. His health was causing anxiety for some months, and he quietly passed away on 5th November 1915. No greater tribute can be paid to him than that sent by Lord Hardinge to Lord Willingdon. Lord Hardinge telegraphed :—

I should like to associate myself with the people of Bombay, who are meeting to-day to express their grief at the loss of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and to take steps to prepetuate his memory.' (Applause.) He was a great Parsi, a great citizen, a great patriot, and a great Indian (loud applause), and India could ill afford to lose him especially in these times. Please convey my very deep sympathy to Lady Mehta. I should like to subscribe Rs. 1,000 (applause) to any memorial fund that may be initiated as the result of your meeting.

The following appreciation from the *Times of India* may be a fitting epitaph to the memory of a great patriot and a born leader of men :—

No man could deliver harder blows; no man was better prepared to receive them. In this he was quite exceptional in Indian public life. One of the most unfortunate tendencies in that life is for controversies immediately to descend into personalities.

* * *

Another is for differences to be exacerbated into hostilites. Sir Pherozeshah was above both meannesses. He would fight with the best; but he bore no malice; he rarely, if ever, descended into personalities, and he retained warm personal friendships for many with whom he exchanged the shrewdest buffets. In these very important respects he was able to carry into Indian affairs some of the best traits of English public life. It is here, perhaps, more than anywhere else that he will be most missed. Few men have ever been so completely above race or sectional prejudice. He was proud to claim that he was an Indian first and Parsi afterwards. And here we may recount an incident which has not been published before. Some four years ago there was a movement afoot for a solid expression of opinion in India, and an Englishman was asked to consult Sir Pherozeshah upon it. Complete agreement was immediately reached, and the emissary then said:—'I will now step aside as this expression had better come from the Indians of Bombay.' Sir Pherozeshah at once said:—'I will never be associated with any movement which recognizes racial or communal divisions in Bombay. If this is not to be an expression of all classes in the city, then I will have nothing to do with it.' He was right and the immediate and vigorous enunciation of his view is evidence of the genuine catholicity of his outlook.

None could have wished for a better title to fame.

MEMORIALS

It was in the fitness of things that, the different public bodies with which Sir Pherozeshah was associated, should have tried to keep his memory given. On the 4th April 1917 Mr. (now Sir) D. E. Wacha unveiled a portrait of Mehta which was subscribed for and presented to the Bombay Presidency Association by the members.

Mr. H. P. Mody's two volumes of *Sir Pherozeshah Mehta: A Political Biography* is an adequate and fitting record of the life and career of a great political personality who for over forty years had dominated the public life of this country. The biography, to which H. H. the Aga Khan has prefixed an admirable foreword, gives a full length portrait of the hero and throws a flood of light in the life and character of one, who, in free England, might have attained the position of Gladstone or Beaconsfield.

But the city he loved so well and served so faithfully—Bombay the beautiful—should have a public memorial in honour of its departed leader. And the citizens of Bombay

honoured themselves by erecting a statue in bronze at a cost of Rs. 80,000. It was unveiled in front of the Municipal office, on the 3rd April 1923, by H. E. the Governor of Bombay. Messages were read from H. H. the Aga Khan and Lord Sinha while H. E. the Viceroy, in an appropriate message to the meeting, congratulated the Memorial Committee and the subscribers "on having given to Bombay and to India a memorial which will recall and perpetuate the memory of the patriotic labours through many years on behalf of his country and city of Sir P. M. Mehta, a distinguished statesman, and public citizen."

BEHRAMJI M. MALABARI.

BIRTH AND PARENTAGE

BEHRAMJI M. MALABARI was born in 1853 in Baroda, the capital of the Gaekwad. He was the son of one Dhanjibhai Mehta, a petty clerk in the service of the State who died, leaving his widow and child in quite a helpless condition. The record of Behramji's early years is thus one of utter gloom. The father does not seem to have been of much help to the family even while alive, as owing to differences with other members of the "joint family" his mother had to leave her husband's home at Baroda and go back to her birth place, Surat, with the infant in her arms. Fifty years ago this journey was quite an uncommon feat. It was the time of the much-dreaded Mahratta confederacy. The Bhils, the Girasias, the Pindaris who were alike the terror and the curse of Western

and Central India were scourging the country with periodic raids. Knowing no law nor authority, they carried fire and sword wherever they went. It was one of these gangs of robbers that suddenly swooped down upon Malabari's mother like brigands from the bush. She was just a girl, in her teens, and had nothing about her but this precious child of two clinging convulsively to her bosom. Somehow the very bolts became blessings. The headman of the gang took the child in his arms and proclaimed peace, saying it was only a girl and a baby in the cart; and he was so completely won over by their innocent charms that he immediately ordered his men to escort them home with suitable presents. Verily thieves who came to rob remained to pray. The narrative of this lucky escape, Malabari used to say, "was repeated to me whenever I was ill, after which both of us prayed to God."

Now this spirit of prayerfulness steadily became the dominant feature of his character. In fact it was a trait inherited from his mother —an extraordinary character in every way,

A few years after Bhikhibai's arrival at Surat she had to marry again, a relative Mirwanji Malabari by name, who adopted her son. This marriage was contracted partly that the adoptive father might be of worldly use to her son and partly to help her parents. But it turned out unhappy. It was a disastrous failure. "Yet" says Malabari, "she put up with it for my sake, though I gained little and lost much by an undesirable contact." Her own life was a daily martyrdom. Mirwanji had a druggist's shop and dealt in sandalwood and spices imported by him from the Malabar coast which probably accounts for his surname. He was in easy circumstances at first but the loss of a ship completely wrecked his fortune; the hope of the forlorn widow was frustrated, and her son had to undergo so early in life all the trials of benumbing poverty. The step-father parted company and the mother and child were left alone.

THE ROWDY BOY

During the first twelve years of his life, Malabari seems to have lived a sort of Bohemian life and almost exhausted all

forms of youthful folly. He changed schools as he changed his linen, giving up one eccentric teacher for another and learning little by way of methodic study. Skilled in flying kites, he devoted the day to fun and frolic. Though a child of chill penury, he knew nothing of care or fear. He fell in with a gang of street Arabs with whom he wasted his hours away and kept his comrades merry with an artless native tune. In after life he became grave, tragically grave,—a gravity that too often smacks of sadness and sorrow, but a gravity too that sitteth heavy on the brow of wisdom and care. But when all is said, there are perhaps no more pathetic words in all autobiographic literature than those of John Stuart Mill in recalling the dreary years of his youth—"I have never been a boy!" With Malabari at any rate this was not the case. He was a school boy with a vengeance.

And like all boys too he was in perfect tune with the outside world. The peculiar poetry of the Khialis, the itinerant bards and wandering minstrels of Guzerat exercised a

powerful influence on him and their semi-ascetic life and precarious livelihood by their voice and instruments threw a halo of enchantment in the eyes of the gipsy lad. Many a time he was involved in the vortex of their rowdy tournaments and "enjoyed the music as well as the fun of broken head and lacerated skin." During the juvenile picnics, we are told that while the boy was singing in the river-banks, women used to turn up and take an unconsciously long time to fill their pitchers as they were filling their ears with music. Falling in bad company he was early initiated into the mysteries or frauds of magic and alchemy and the drink of the "all softening, overpowering daru." With a batch of truant boys again, he would rush pellmell into the streets, offer his charming adorations to the shopmaid—and many a time his calf-love would be returned with bullock blows. He was indeed the "Little Knight of La Mancha."

Suddenly there came a crash as of a bolt from the blue. His "glad animal movements" were at their zenith. But one gloomy day

going home rather late in the night he found his mother laid up with cholera. It was a perilous plight. He stands at her feet, an orphan boy, "shame faced, crest-fallen" and almost dazed, not knowing what to do. She hovers between life and death, her eyes wistfully gazing beyond, only her hands still holding Behram's to the last. Farewell to all frivolity, a long farewell! Death is real, a reality that mocks life. He sits like a statue, his tears frozen at their fount, his eyes moistened with the mist of despair. All was dark. "Next morning," he tells Mr. Gidumal, "I became an old man. All my past associations were discarded." He became a new man. As he himself has put it in one of his pathetically touching verses :

Her latest breath below my safety sought,
To bless her orphan was her dying thought,
No tear I shed, when first my loss I viewed,
My sense was smothered, and my soul subdued,
She'd clasped a child, with sad emotions wan,
But when the clasp relaxed, there was left a man.

THE SOBER SCHOLAR

With the demise of his mother in 1864 we turn a new leaf in the career of Malabari. We may fairly take the years between 1864 and

1876 as the period of self-discipline. The rowdy boy is now a sober scholar. Many a genius is crippled, crushed, and mutilated by the irony of early adversities, but Malabari proved all the better for having undergone the "baptism of fire."

Among the formative influences of this period must be mentioned the Irish Presbyterian Missionaries at Surat, Mr. and Mrs. Dixon in particular. Himself hungering for knowledge, he devoted his mornings and evenings to tuition and got over the pecuniary embarrassments of the school course. Thus under the sympathetic guidance of Mr. Dixon, 'an exemplary Christian gentleman, he made astonishing progress in English. With him he read the Bible occasionally, and Shakespeare and Milton. "But much more beneficial to me than the readings or the regular lessons, was the silent influence of the home-life of the missionaries—all peace and sun-shine." At home, besides his school books, he pored over Premanand and Akha, Samal Bhat and Dayaram and the chantings of many an Eastern poet and mystic. Even

during his silent nocturnal musings, he would jot down those "short swallow flights of song" which have since been embodied in his works. Chilled by poverty, he would still revel in these "shadowy thoroughfares of thought and imagination" to weave again the wreaths of poesy, which as his biographer says, were the delight of his youth.

Two diligent years were thus spent in learning and teaching, and so rapid was his progress that his masters chose him to appear for Matriculation Examination. His own temptation was strong to go forth into the great world of Bombay but he had not the wherewithal for the journey of hundred and seventy miles. But a kind providence helped him in the person of an old Jivaji of Nanpura who thrusted twenty rupees upon the careworn lad with these astonishingly generous and sensible words: "Don't be sad my boy," said good old Jivaji, "your honest face is surety enough for my money." And then his lady friends in the street presented him with an outfit—"a coat and trousers of flaming red, a shiny black puggree the size and weight of a German

stove and a pair of stout squeaking boots." With these he started for what he thought "the annual carnival for the slaughter of infants."

But ill-luck was pursuing him. The Matriculation had been quite a bug-bear to students till very recently, and he was no exception. He had also a horror of mathematics, which revenged itself upon him and though he topped the list in English and general knowledge, he failed egregiously in science and its ally.

THE PUPIL TEACHER

But what was now to be done? To return to Surat with the stigma of ill-success was out of the question. To stay at Bombay without the means of subsistence was equally impossible. Luckily, he was introduced to one Mr. Hormusjee Jehangir of the Proprietary School, who took him in his staff as a pupil teacher. This was exceedingly gratifying to Malabari as he was now determined to get through the dreaded examination. But for three years successively, he was floored in the same subjects. "And in the

fourth year," he says with an air of philosophic composure, "I made a super-human effort, studying the subjects for nearly a month, instead of the last week, as before." At last, he won the coveted prize when it was of little use to him. He was now fairly well off. He was started on twenty rupees, his pay was then doubled and trebled also. There were besides special opportunities to supplement his modest income.

Thus passed on the years, and leisure and competence brought the philosophic mind. He was now twenty-one and an important event happened of which neither he nor his biographer have chosen to say much.

It was about this time that I began to woo the Muse seriously, and about this time also it was that some one, pretending to have lessons in English, began to lay siege to a hitherto unimpressionable heart. The siege did not last long, the citadel capitulating before its owner became fully aware of the risks and responsibilities of teaching English to pupils of the other sex with ulterior objects in view.

The suddenness of the marriage took Mr. Hormusji and the pupils by surprise. So great was his horror of publicity that even his own students never knew of the marriage until the ceremony was fairly over.

Before leaving the house, however, I find several of the boys waiting outside, looking somewhat scared and uncertain. I take them in, introducing them to the newcomer; and we all sit down to tea, the little rogues helping themselves to spoonfuls of sugar, as if they had never tasted it before. It was *their* way of congratulating us. Sweet be your lives, my little men! You will always be the children of my heart, whatever its domestic or social entanglements.

That is his own inimitable way of doing and saying. Now here is a mixture of truth, and tenderness and humour and spontaneity, and the fragrance of good sense and good feeling never degenerates into a canting phrase. The marriage incident explains equally one notable trait in his character to which we have already drawn attention—his horror of publicity. Has it not been in evidence since the day he scrupled to wear the flaming red coat on his march to Bombay? He was at heart a recluse and a poet, and if he had not felt the call, he would have preferred the solitariness of his study to the sensations of journalism.

A POET IN HIS MOTHER TONGUE

Malabari won his first laurels as a poet and a poet in his own mother tongue. Early in life, as we have seen, his sensitive soul was responsive to the songs of the minstrels. This was sup-

plemented by a devoted study of the bards of Guzerat. His keen observant eyes and his sympathetic conscience were ever alert. And in happy moments of inspiration he lisped in numbers. These he collected together and brought with him to Bombay. For long the manuscript was fated not to see the light of day, but it was the charter that first raised him from obscurity to the Temple of Fame.

In a happy moment he took his Guzerati verses to the Rev. Mr. Taylor, well-known in those days for his critical scholarship of Guzerati evinced in his Standard Grammar based on the principles of Philology. Mr. Taylor was agreeably surprised at the marvellous merits of the poems and immediately introduced the young author to the Rev. Dr. Wilson, a Scotch missionary who was then on the verge of closing his long and varied career of public usefulness and private virtues. For nearly half a century Dr. Wilson was the moving spirit of Maharashtra, active as a scholar, educationist, philanthropist and a zealous controversialist in defence of the Gospel, crowning his varied enterprises with

the office of the first Vice-Chancellor of the infant University of Bombay. Malabari owed not a little to this magnanimous Christian missionary. It was Dr. Wilson who first introduced the young writer to Mr. Martin Wood, then editor of the *Times of India* an event which set him on a career of journalism. It was again Dr. Wilson who arranged for the publication of Malabari's Guzerati poems in 1875.

"THE NITIVINOD"

This book was named by its patron *Nitivinod* or the Pleasures of Morality. It recalls Campbell's *Pleasures of Hope*, Akenside's *Pleasures of the Imagination* and Roger's *Pleasures of Memory*. But Mr. Malabari's biographers correct us at once that the comparison is absurd as the *Nitivinod* is not one continuous poem with a fixed theme but a collection of short poems on various subjects, in different metres and of unequal merit the best of which being chiefly lyrical. They add that the title is justified by the strong moral tone which pervades the whole and which is the chief characteristic of the writer.

Nitivinod made a sensation in those days as the attempt of a strange Parsee wielding the Hindu Guzerati with consummate art and success. The book is divided into five parts—moral subjects, miscellaneous subjects, questions and answers, short lives of great men, and religious subjects. Indeed nothing escapes the compass of the young genius. But two things strike us as rather premature even in an infant prodigy—the supremely spiritual resignation uttered in words of prayer and the fervour of the would-be social reformer breathing through every line. One critic whose ethical notions are somewhat hard to follow regarded the book as "an attempt to infuse into the Eastern mind something of the lofty tone of thought and feeling which distinguishes the most approved literary productions of the West." And everywhere the praise rang that the poetry was without prosodical defects and that the language was natural and the style graceful. In fact the *Rast Gofter* welcomed the author as a "genuine poet."

This chorus of applause on all sides hailing the advent of a "genuine poet" encouraged

him to attempt a daring experiment. Malabari was already an accomplished scholar and though with little pretensions to academic eminence, his taste for letters and his command of the delicacies of style were getting more and more apparent. He had an unerring ear for rhythm and his vast and varied study in the realm of letters stood him in good stead. "I have ranged" he said, "aimlessly over a wide field of poesy, English as well as Indian, in several vernaculars; also Persian and Greek translated."

AS A POET IN ENGLISH

In truth, endowed with true genius and taste, English numbers, he found, came to him as easily as did the Guzerati songs and so in 1876 he published *The Indian Muse in English Garb* dedicated to Miss Mary Carpenter. In a poem—"To the memory of one of the noblest Friends of India"—he keenly deplores the loss of Dr. Wilson. The whole book is more or less autobiographical, giving sketches, pen-pictures in verse of the incidents connected with his life. We have already re-

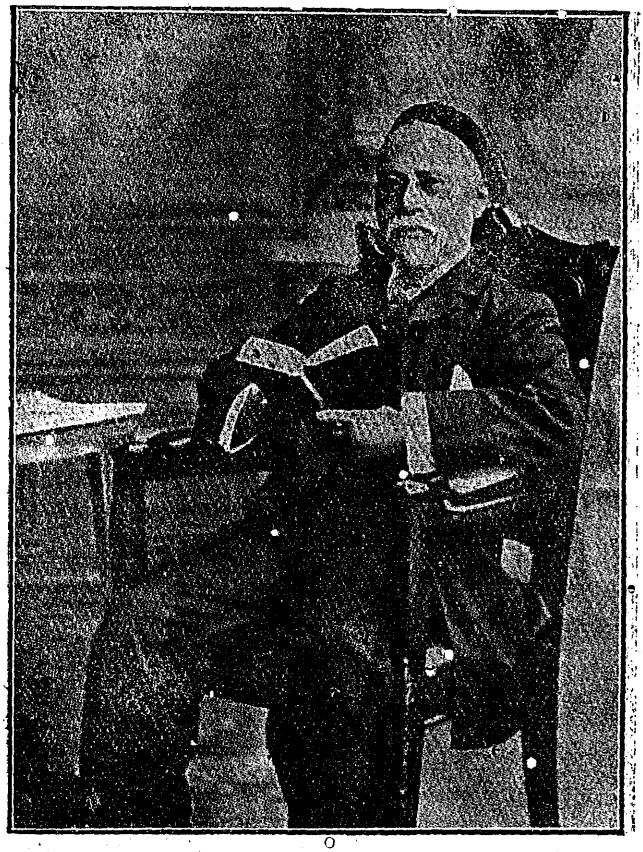
ferred to the touching stanzas on his mother. It is this that marks his lines with the stamp of sincerity, and coupled with his mastery of the felicities of English diction and a racy humour, his poems make a fine treat. In shrewdness of observation, in metrical correctness and the superb common sense pervading the sketches they recall the witty dialectical art of the eighteenth century verse. They are faultlessly correct and clever, and marked by amazing neatness of diction. In describing one of his own terrible teachers he writes:

He chanted prayers Oh Lord! in such gruff tones,
'T would set on rack the hoar Zoroaster's bones,
He shrieked and staggered in his zealous rage,
Till he looked an actor on a tragic stage,
But when our whines the neighbouring women drew,

The man of zeal at once persuasive grew—
Expounded doctrines, in a fervid breath,
Preached patience, virtue, truth and tacit faith,
Thank God I'd then too small religious wit,
To understand that canting hypocrite.

Another worthy is pictured in these words:

A man mysterious of the Magus tribe—
A close astrologer and a splendid scribe—
A faithful oracle of dread Hormuzd's will—
A priest, a patriarch and a man of skill.
A master weaver, and—to close details,
He weaved long webs and Lord! he weaved long tales.



BEHRAMJI M. MALABARI

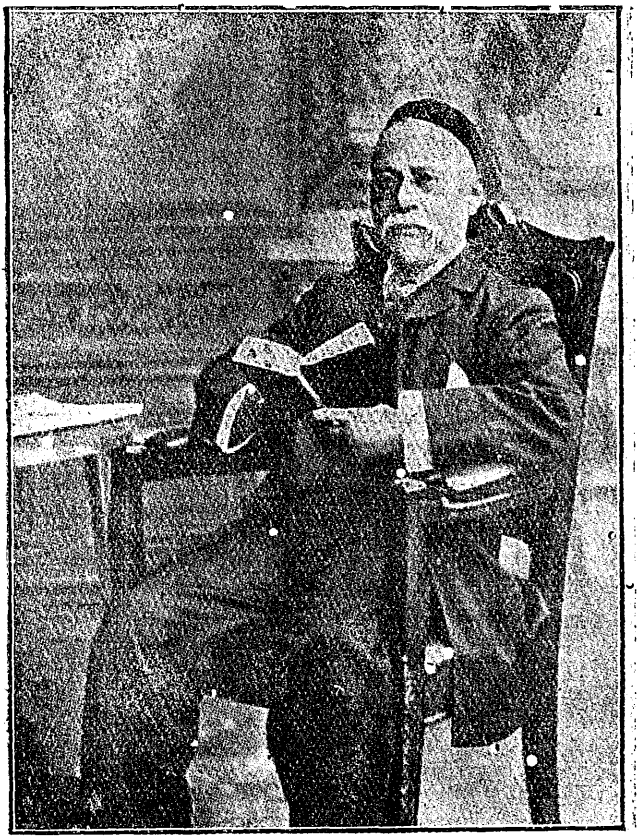
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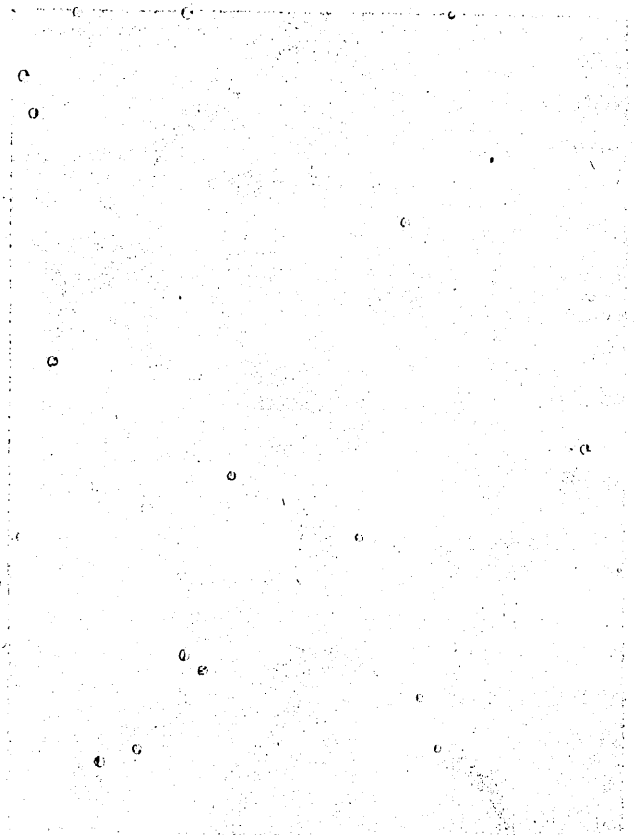
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Now a kindly feeling pervades all these lines. One would have thought that with his early struggles and disappointments the boy poet should have betrayed sentiments of indignation or a touch of cynical contempt. But all through there runs a vein of delightful humour and the vivid memories and even the critical analysis of feature and character alike are marked off with a kindly pen. The stern realities of his boyish remembrances are toned down and coloured with the air of the picturesque fairy tale.

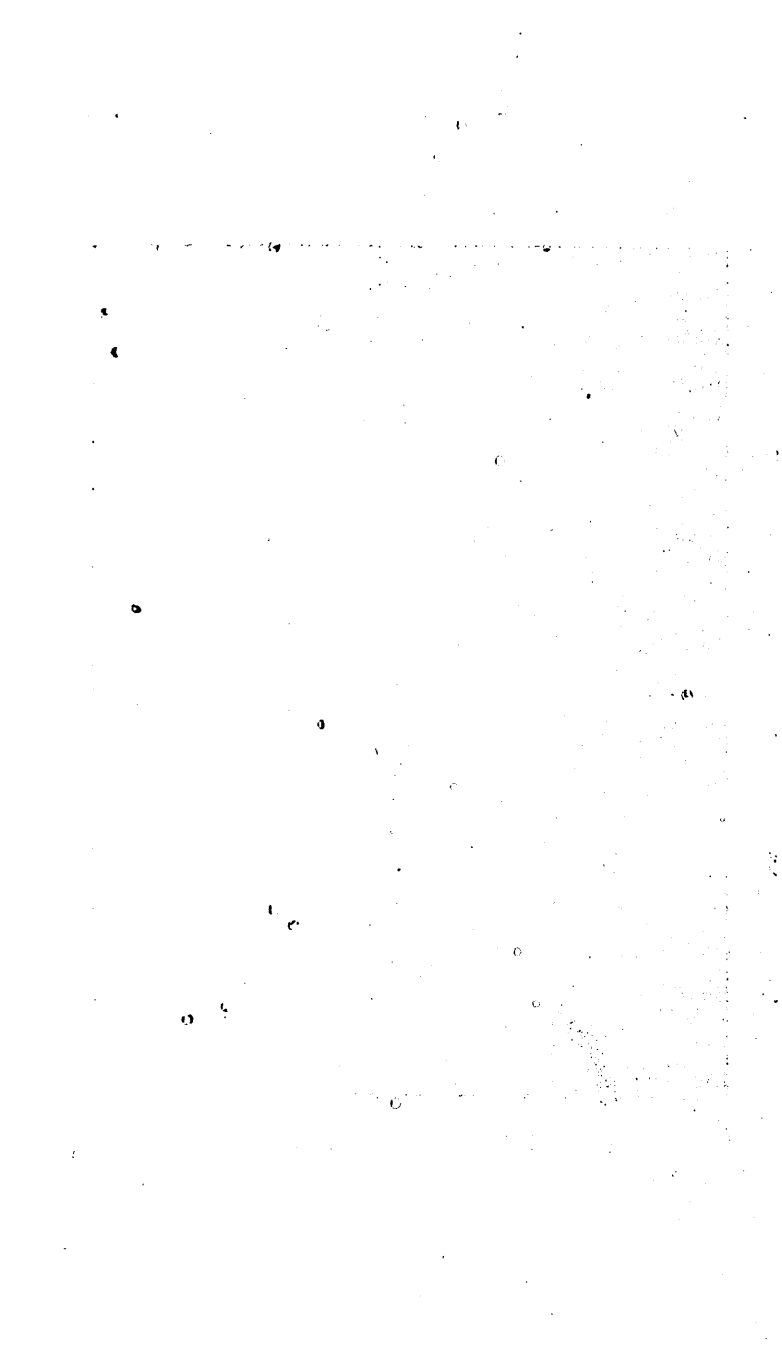
Then follow some verses addressed to the "Disloyal Grumbler" and a number of other poems which are only interesting for the attitude taken by the patriot-poet. They are one and all of them correct, clever, witty. Of late years we have had poems of Toru Dutt and Sarojini and Rabindranath Tagore. They have achieved a far greater and more deserved fame. But it is vain to institute any comparison. Malabari himself deprecated in after years the ambition for creative effort in a foreign literature. He wants the thrill and the feeling for the exquisite, at any rate in his

English verse. He wants the absolute abandonment of the true poet. He governs his impulses and with a cool, critical acumen he dissects his characters and adjudicates their claims. Very often he sees the fun of things and as he rattles off he sits self-poised, deliberate, severely calm in his self-possession. That rapture of ecstacy, the supreme abandon, the divine forgetfulness, he has not. But there are couplets in his poems which for epigrammatic brilliancy, soundness of ethical or critical import, and common sense crystallised into telling expression breathed through and through with the saving grace of humour or satire, can scarcely be surpassed. But then the spirit of the active missionary overpowered the poet. Life is more than letters and he never wrote without a purpose. His poems are not his only laurels. They were yet generously appreciated both by the press and by the public. They displayed an uncommonly intimate knowledge of the English language and were the outcome of a gifted mind trained to habits of deep meditation and fresh and felicitous expression. John Bright,

Tennyson, Florence Nightingale, all wrote to congratulate the young poet. Max Muller was enthusiastic in his admiration. Still poetry was not his forte. It certainly lay in the strength of his understanding, in the catholicity of his sympathies and the genial air of his own personality which made themselves known, through his writings. But the times called for action and he fought the battle of life with the pen.

JOURNALISM

About this time when Mr. Malabari was a pupil teacher and busy weaving verses at home there happened an event which turned the course of his juvenile ambition and as he himself would say it with a genial smile, "deprived India of the services of one more platform orator." He was induced one evening to attend the debating club and not knowing what the members were about rattled off an eloquent passage from Macaulay bearing on the subject in discussion. One of the boys cried out "Macaulay! Macaulay!!"; another shouted amidst vociferous cheers "stolen fire!" The young orator was stunned and



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he sat down shame-faced and brow-beaten. Another experience at learning law in the company of Mr. (later Justice) Davar showed him his utter incapacity, his constitutional incapacity to conform to what he thought to be the strange ethics of the legal profession. He bade adieu to law and oratory and comforted himself in either case with the sober reflection, "That way lies damnation."

Early in 1876 a couple of enterprising school boys, and a clerk in the Bombay Municipality started a cheap weekly under the name of the *Indian Spectator*. For some time Malabari was assisting them with his literary ware; but soon he became co-editor with another friend whom he describes as "my superior in general knowledge, perhaps my equal in his distaste for mathematics, pure or otherwise; but with a command of English, cool judgment and powers of organization which I envied." They lived in a sort of dreamland, entirely forgetful of the practical side of life.

At this time Mr. Martin Wood who had left the *Times of India* for starting a news-

paper in the interest of the Indian States and the masses at large found in Malabari a welcome co-adjutor. Mr. Wood began the *Bombay Gazette* a small weekly of the size of the *Pall Mall,* to which Malabari contributed his delightful sketches on *Guzerat and the Guzeratis* written in the course of a travel in those parts to popularise the cause of the new journal. But the new weekly in spite of its editor's decided ability and influence could not get on financially and was discontinued in a couple of years. It, however, gave a splendid training in journalism to one who deemed it "not a trade, not a business, not even a mere profession, but an avocation, a call, a holy mission."

Thus about the beginning of 1880, Malabari rejoined the *Indian Spectator* as its virtual editor on the magnificent salary of Rs. 25! With plentiful brains and journalistic *flair* he pushed on the paper but the malignant Gods denied him the gift of prudence. The paper became a power in the land but it kept him at famine rations. He had to part with the only couple of ornaments at home to keep up his

position in the face of his clamorous creditors. The cloud became ominous and still he struggled on "writing, editing, correcting proofs, at times folding and posting copies and even distributing them in town, going the round in a cab with the driver to deliver the copies as instructed by me." Such was the adolescence of the *Indian Spectator*. In spite of his own genius and resourcefulness, the journal had many a time left him stranded. And on one of these occasions the valiant support of Mr. (now Sir) D. E. Wacha came to the rescue. Indeed Malabari was never tired of acknowledging both in public and private the good offices of this amazingly active and earnest prodigy of facts and figures. Wacha was for long Malabari's cyclopædia for ready reference. "But for Dinshaw," wrote Malabari, "I would have been nowhere and so also the *Indian Spectator*. He not only gave us most valuable literary assistance but brought us more than once pecuniary help from friends as disinterested as himself."

When the *Indian Spectator* was thus pulling on Malabari and his friends started the *Voice*

of India in 1883. The idea originated with Sir William Wedderburn and Mr. Dadabhoy Nowroji was able to collect Rs. 15,000 or thereabouts as manager of the new monthly. The *Voice* appeared in six languages and the licking of the translated extracts into shape was enough to try the most patient of men. Here is a tribute to the Grand Old Man of India:

> But for Mr. Dadabhoy's co-operation I could not have carried on the work for six months. It was a sight to see the dear old patriarch poring over the petty accounts and correspondence day after day, as if on them depended the fate of the British Empire. He could not possibly have worked harder as Finance Minister or Chancellor of the Exchequer. That has been Mr. Dadabhai's way all his life—thorough and conscientious work in small matters as well as great. And his example could not but be catching even for a perfunctory and impatient worker like me.

But all this slaving from morning to night came to nothing. The *Voice* had to be stopped. Latterly Malabari had a similar experience with the *Champion*. Does the shadow of an evil genius pursue the good intentions of mice and men? There was no use making experiments only to fail. He wisely incorporated these tender off-springs

with the *Spectator* and worked on with indifferent success, many a time the editor, proof reader and salesman, rolled into one. In 1901, he started the *East and West* as a monthly and till the day of his death he watched with fond affection and eager solicitude the growth of these two children of his heart for which he spared neither time, nor purse.

This in brief is a mere outline of Malabari's journalistic concerns. For well nigh forty years he was the premier journalist of India. He early found his vocation and stuck to it with reverent devotion. As early as 1880 when Malabari was just blooming into a full blown editor, the *Bombay Review* spoke of him as follows:

"The Editor, is peculiarly fitted for being a trustworthy interpreter between rulers and ruled, between the indigenous and immigrant branches of the great Aryan race. It is easy to see that he thoroughly understands the mental and moral characteristics of those two great divisions of the Indian community, not only as presented in Bombay, but in other provinces in India. We have always felt confidence in the sincerity and independence of its Editor. His knowledge of the various castes and classes of society in Western India is full and exact, while in aptitude for discussion of social questions he displays a discrimination and aptness in picturesque description and a genuine humour, sufficiently rare."

With such a capital editor, *The Indian Spectator* became within a couple of years, "the best paper in India." The Anglo-Indian journals hailed the dawn of this illustrious compeer. *The Englishman* bore testimony to its "idiomatic English" and its "bold trenchant style." *The Daily News* eulogized its remarkable fairness and ability. French and American journalists were not slow to recognise the advent of this potent force in India. *The Academy* considered *The Indian Spectator* "no unworthy rival of its London namesake" and everywhere it was commended for its intelligence, moderation, liberality and the limpid English which it kept undefiled. Nor were the Government wanting in appreciation of the merits of the journal. Lord Ripon simply admired it as much as he admired the man.

Its voice penetrated into the Councils of the Empire. Its rigid impartiality between class and class, and between the rulers and the ruled evoked the admiration of many an onlooker. Its sweet reasonableness coupled with its valiant advocacy of the cause of

righteousness and justice won for it the support of all readers. The *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* paid a discerning encomium on the refreshing quality of its style:

> In wit, humour, and satire, and in the complete mastery of the English language, our contemporary stands pre-eminent. His smart and playful sayings, so full of meaning, pass current in the country. Week after week the columns of our contemporary are filled with the treasures of a rich and versatile mind.

THE AUTHOR

It is now time to consider Malabari in the capacity of an author. In his own Vernacular, his lyrical songs, Messrs. Gidumal and Karkaria assure us, will live as long as Guzerati lasts. His poems have so incorporated themselves with the life of the people and it is not for us to question the verdict of two such discerning critics. What has been said of his *Wilson Virah* may be taken to be true of most of his other poems as well:

> "His readers" wrote the "*Guzerati Mitra*" "are not only loving Parsees but admiring Hindus; and no wonder. For Mr. Malabari's language is not only pure—it is the purest of the pure." "His language is very pure and simple, his poetry is very sweet and readable" wrote the "*Shamesher Bahadur*." "Mr. Malabari's poetry is so touching and impressive that we are tempted to read it over and over again. His works are the ornaments of our libraries."

Indeed, it has been conceded on all hands that in originality of thought, descriptive power and genuine poetic expression, his lyrical pieces are unsurpassed. Particularly happy are his patriotic poems. Recalling some of these verses the *Bombay Chronicle* wrote :

"It would be difficult, if not impossible to find in Gujarati another poem like Malabari's "Future Glories of Gujarat" which expresses not only the Parsi poet's love for his motherland, but also anticipates and prophesies the Great March of Mahatma Gandhi." That might be a far-fetched interpretation. But the spirit of the poem, its simple, direct, intense and intimate appeal, cannot be gainsaid, but something of the lofty sentiments which animate the poem can be indicated in the following translation.

In the concluding stanzas of his poem entitled " Gujaratnum Bhavi Gaurava", Malabari says :—

"Be prepared, Gujerat, to claim thy privileges and leadership. Proclaim "independence" and "unity" and destroy division. You have escaped death; then why do you again turn towards it. Thy past sins shall be

washed by the waters of the Narmada. It will be the "new birth," and then the brave shall overflow the Country."

* * *

"Where shall I be on that day, the day of thy new birth, mother! I have spent my life in pain and mental agony. What does it matter if I am not destined to be an eye-witness of that great event? What though, I undergo hundred births only to witness that day of thy glory? So great is my debt to thee that I will never forsake the desire to see you glorious. I may die, but I shall not be dead until I witness the day of thy freedom. For, something within me says that the day is destined to come."

"The poet's call to Gujarat for "leadership" has not been in vain," comments the *Bombay Chronicle*, "if we recall Mahatmaji's Great March." Any way the poet's vision of the role of Narmada has not been a mere poetic phantasy.

But to the wider public of India and to the world at large his essays in English carry a peculiar weight and value. Babu English and Indian English have been sufficiently reviled. Here, at any rate, is an author whose works have been weighed by some of the most critical judges and pronounced to be classics in their own way.

In truth, it would be difficult to find comparisons with any Indian author to the *Guzerat*

and the Guzeratis, the *Indian Eye on English Life* and some of the articles in the *Indian Spectator* and the delightful autobiographical reminiscences in the *East and West*. In all these works there is little display of book-learning. Here and there are indeed attempts at over-smartness and sparkling but it is the amiable foible of a young and enthusiastic genius. The *Saturday Review* confessed:

> The writer is truly a humourist in the best sense of the word. He 'professes' to quote Thackeray, 'to awaken and direct your love, your pity. your, kindness, your scorn for untruth, pretension, and imposture—your tenderness for the weak, the poor, the oppressed, the unhappy. To the best of his means and ability, he comments on all the ordinary actions and passions of life almost. He takes upon himself to be the week-day preacher, so to speak. Accordingly, as he finds, and speaks, and feels the truth best, we regard him, esteem him—sometimes love him. No one who reads 'Guzerat and Guzeratis' will fail to have a very high admiration and esteem for its author.

But the *Indian Eye* is the work of a more mature age. He visited England thrice in connection with his programme of social reform and was fully engrossed in the work of conversion. And yet he could never trifle with *his* points of observation and study of human nature and character. And in England

he had a very wide and novel field. He observed English life in all its grades with a curious eye and made notes of the more striking features. These he worked out into a book which "does for his own countrymen, as regards England, what he has already done for Englishmen about Guzerat." Notwithstanding many a vivid and life-like passage of men and things that abound in the book, it is almost entirely a volume of criticism. He does not see eye to eye with some of his friends on many matters. In some places, he is severely adverse in his strictures on men and things, yet the whole book is so candidly conceived, the critic is so generous in his estimate, that even the victims will scarcely fail to believe that the author's heart, in the theological phrase, is in the right place. The wide sympathy and keen insight of this Indian penman have wrought a fascinating study from the crucible of a peculiarly brooding mind. Ever and anon, the writer is reminded of India, and the Indian life is the touchstone of his comparisons. As a literary work, it holds a high place. It is replete

with humour of that gentle, delicate kind that never hurts. It is a kindly humour. The style is simple, lucid and elusive with no little force and beauty. And yet the artist is overwhelmed by the propagandist and the man of letters is subdued by the journalist. He suggests more than he explains. He catches the mood and he lights it up with a rare touch. The book as a whole is not comprehensive enough. Both by education and by temperament, he was unfitted for methodic and scientific treatment of matters. He sees the truth of things, as it were, by a stroke of genius but never by scholarly research nor systematic reasoning. And his works bear the mark of incompleteness and want of leisure quite as much as they symbolise genius of a high order with a distinct individuality. The book ran through three editions in a year. The *Saturday Review* compared the author of the *Indian Eye* with Rudyard Kipling.

Malabari was essentially an interpreter between East and West and he never waned in the supremely moral purpose of his mission.

His practical philanthropy and the unending journalistic controversy gave a superb human turn to his ideas, brought him face to face with men and affairs rather than with books and stars and made him closer to life rather than to literature. And yet his works have "the ever seductive note of meditation and inwardness" and the dissolvent literature of his own generation has lost none of the refreshing fragrance of fugitive articles on contemporary thought.

MALABARI'S ACADEMIC LIBERALISM

The sweet reasonableness of his opinions and methods of controversy was in conformity with the genial spirit of Malabari. The bitterest opposition and the most carping medley of insinuations were met by Malabari with the same serenity of temper. Not a tinge of acerbity could be detected in his soul, perturbed as it was with many a misunderstanding of his motives and his methods. Sensitive in a supreme degree to all the passing waves of contemporary onslaught, equipped with the brilliant array of his own arguments and his deep-rooted convictions,

he yet possessed his soul in patience and kept it unruffled by the corrosive fumes of political controversy. He had in an abundant degree the gift of forgetting and forgiving.

At the time he began his public career, he found a congenial atmosphere for his work. The aggressive policy of Lord Lytton had brought in its train wars in the frontier, unrest at home and discontent everywhere. It provoked bitterness and hostility on all sides. Gladstone easily perceived the defects of the Beaconsfield administration and deputed to India one of the most high-souled Englishmen, the benevolent Lord Ripon. The policy of the Government was clear. The time for conciliation had come. The hour was propitious. And Malabari emerged with his message of peace and good-will.

The new Viceroy set about the task of repairing the mischief done by his predecessor in foreign as well as domestic affairs. The policy of aggression and interference with the North-west Frontier was given up. The night-mare of Russian advance was forgotten as the

unsubstantial dream of a chimerical brain. With the skilful assistance of his new minister Sir Evelyn Baring, (later) Lord Cromer, the damaged finances of India were put again on a sound basis. Instead of coercion and repression a marked departure was assumed in the attitude of the new government towards the people of the country. Public leaders were consulted; public opinion was welcomed; public criticism invited. The Indian press was given back its original liberty. Press and platform were astir with a new enthusiasm. A decent measure of self-Government was vouchsafed to a few principal localities. The leaders formed a chorus to sing the praises of the new democracy. The press multiplied. And Malabari had his share in no small measure.

He conducted his paper in an eminently judicial spirit, and never took the determined antagonism of some of the journalists of his day. He likened the British administration to a perpetual snow-drift, magnificent to look at, but always uncertain as to its destination. Hence, he never quarrelled with the Civil Service for its obliquity of notions and attitudes

but only gave the thrice-blessed counsel—knowledge and sympathy. During times of wild excitement and heated controversy he kept his own head cool and cured his compatriots with doses of his own balm. The most notable instance in point was his service at the time of the Ilbert Bill controversy. He had no small hand in compromising the acerbity of feeling that followed the introduction of the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill and the Bengal Tenancy Bill. He was in constant correspondence with some of the highest authorities on the burning questions of the day and his sage counsels could not but be of value in cementing the divergent races of the East and West.

Malabari's aloofness from the Congress may now be easily guessed from the foregoing pages. It is, however, surprising that his intimate association with Dadabhai and Wacha had not made him an ardent Congressman. Yet his was not a nature made for rings. He confessed that the Congress ring was as unattractive to him as an official bureau. He shared the politics of the Con-

gress but differed from it in many vital points. In one of his talks with his educated countrymen through the columns of the now defunct *Indian Spectator*, he said :—

I cannot join a combination, cannot work in a ring. For instance, the Congress movement in the abstract is one of the dreams of my life—indicating the first awakenings of national life for India. But if you ask me to fall down and worship its outward symbols—its huge pavilion and annual show, its camp-hotels and unions, its resolutions made to order, and its unanimous votes—I must decline the honour. I cannot do this, but do not quarrel with you for doing it. You may be the better for doing it; I am content to be the worse for omitting to do it. In a word, I am unfitted by nature to use the Congress, though always ready to be used by it for the good of the country.

His two pamphlets "India in 1897" and "The Indian problem" contain many an illuminating analysis of the situation in India, the methods of government, the attitude of the people and the common end in view. With charming frankness he "preaches at" the official class on the one hand and at their critics on the press and platform on the other. He supported Sir Auckland Colvin's Income-tax Bill rather than see the Salt Tax raised. He always approached every political question mainly from the standpoint of the masses, the great agricultural

population and the labouring classes and was not much in sympathy with what he conceived as the average politician clamouring for rights. This is only in conformity with his mood. Fully convinced of the necessity of British rule in India he brought forward the suggestion that a Royal Prince should be stationed in this country so as to ensure the stability of the Imperial sway.

It is strange that at the time Lord Beaconsfield proclaimed an Imperial vote for India, it did not occur to his fervid imagination that the appointment of a member of the Royal Imperial family might prove most acceptable to the subjects steeped in the sentiment of personal loyalty. Even now a selection like this would tend to soothe the asperities and estrangement between the two races, unhappily on an increase, and might perhaps lead to something like the establishment of a permanent dynasty, worthier than the Moghul, and likely to revive some of the best traditions of the reign of Akbar. Such an arrangement, if practicable, might also neutralize to some extent the evils inseparable from the present system of employing a foreign migratory agency—the breaking up of family ties, a growing distaste for life in India, and gradual diminution of interest in the welfare of a country in which the English officers of a former generation felt proud of spending almost a lifetime.

It certainly does credit to his imagination but can hardly be taken to be the best panacea for all our political ills. About the merits and defects of these proposals, it is needless for us to enter into a serious discussion. The

proposals have uttimately been dropped and the academic Liberalism of Malabari pales before his trumpet call for self-examination.

THE PILGRIM REFORMER

In concluding his brilliant essay on "The Indian Problem" Malabari gave a piece of his mind in the following strain :—

> It is not contended for a moment that India should adopt European ideals of life. All that is sought is that she should go back to the older, wiser ways. A wife at 10, a widow at 12, (in many a case the age limits stand much lower) a mother at 13—these are monstrosities in the face of which it is madness to think of a consistent, progressive public life. And so long as this state of things continues, so long will the Indian Sphinx continue to laugh at the efforts of man to shake her from her purpose which is to puzzle, to mystify, and to undo the work of years.

The passage quoted above gives a clue to his whole career and forms the basis of his life-work. In his earliest volume of verses he had sung pathetically of enforced widowhood and sworn like a knight-errant of old to eradicate the evil. He was as true as his word. He had seen the horrors of widowhood and the spectre haunted him night and day.

> The sights burnt themselves into my brains. It is not merely that I know the miseries of widowhood, not merely that I feel them, feel for and with the widow; I am the widow for the time being.

This intensity of feeling was at once a key to both his literary and philanthropic life. He almost visualised the sufferings of women and felt the pangs of enforced celibacy as if he were the veritable conscience of the women-world. Yet his position was peculiarly unfavourable to the cause. He was a Parsi by birth and he could not impeach with authority the hoary traditions of an alien community. The social abuses might indeed show tendencies of ruin to the society but still they were sanctified by the halo of religion and tradition. Rightly or wrongly nothing is so popular in India as the doctrine of *laissez faire*, at any rate in social matters. An alien Government could not with impunity mar the even course of our own social evolution. He that raised an impious hand against them was denounced as an infidel, a heretic. Again Malabari had none of the equipment of the privileged castes of India. His schemes of reform were not based on Shastraic versions and he could not quote chapter and verse from the Smrithis to fortify his position. He took his stand on the immutable principles of justice and humanity. And

yet the mass of the people would hang their heads if only to fulfil the dictum of an antiquated authority. The hold may be but slippery yet the expediency of the school of Shastraic reformers was undisputable. But then none of the Pundits would lead the way. And the banner of social reform was unfurled by Malabari with his wonted "enthusiasm of humanity."

The problems raised in the previous pafagraph evoked many a delicate issue. The relative functions of the state and society, the conflict of expediency and ideals, the value of national as distinguished from humanitarian sentiments, and a score of other intricate questions came tumbling in for immediate solution. The British Government in India has claimed to be a paternal institution and in the march of mankind, shall it not change its proportions to the newer demands of the Indian democracy? Shall our countrymen be told by one of themselves that we are yet unfit for the prerogatives of a self-governing state and should an infant democracy be nurtured by a paternal autocracy? Here was

the crux of the problem. And the orthodox community clung to their accustomed alleys and raised the cry of "Religion in Danger." Thus Malabari had not only the apathy of an alien government to overcome but the active antipathy and opposition of his own reactionary countrymen. Still he went on urging, agitating, campaigning, allowing

> "neither evil tongues,
> Rash judgments nor the sneers of selfish men, nor all
> The dreary intercourse of daily life."

to prevail against him and make him swerve from the path of active benevolence.

After six years' preparation and organisation in India, he addressed an eloquent and pathetic appeal to the women of England on behalf of their Indian sisters. He elicited the sympathy of the whole English press. He went to England thrice on this mission. He won over Herbert Spencer to his theory of the necessity of State aid in dealing with what he calls "certain outer aspects of Social Reform." And finally a committee of the most influential and representative persons, including prominent English as well as Anglo-Indian statesmen, men of letters and philanthropists

was established in London, to urge the necessity of legislative action on the Indian Government. For a full dozen years, India and England were ringing with the cry of Indian women. At last the chief recommendation of the committee that of raising the marriageable age of Indian girls from ten to twelve was embodied in the famous Age of Consent Bill of 1891 passed by the Government of Lord Lansdowne.

Malabari was the centre of this great controversy. His schemes of social reform have to-day passed the stage of discussion and many of the arguments on both sides have none of the novelty of originality and are apt to make us shrug our shoulders and smile. But then they had to be seriously defended and Malabari left no stone unturned. His invaluable *Notes on Infant Marriage and Enforced Widowhood* published in 1884 was the *vade mecum* of social reformers. Province by province the idea spread like wild-fire and gave a death-blow to superstition. Vidya Sagar in Bengal, Sir T. Muthuswamy Iyer in Madras and Ranade in Bombay, to name

only a few, gave the *Notes* the stamp of their valued assent. Baroda and Mysore followed suit. The Provincial Governments favoured the proposals. Lord Roberts instituted a practical reform in his army on the models suggested in the *Notes*. There was no use mincing matters. The Government was moved and the Bill was passed.

CHARACTERISTICS

It is now time to bring these rather scrappy remarks to a close. Since the passing of the Age of Consent Bill, Malabari had retired into private life, content to do quiet work, unostentatiously, undemonstratively, almost behind the shamiana. Though still a journalist and a journalist of no inconsiderable repute, he still lingered in the back ground and was never much of a public character. He was in constant communication with some of the master spirits of the century in every walk of life, and from time to time could bestir himself to realise many a philanthropic endeavour. Early in life he began the encyclopædic work of arranging for translation into all the vernaculars of the

country Prof. Max Muller's Hibbert Lectures on the *Origin and Growth of Religions in India.* The task was too gigantic for his poor funds. In later life, he accomplished a more glorious memorial of his services in the shape of the two philanthropic institutions—The Seva Sadan and the Sanatorium. Viceroys and Governors, Maharajas and Merchant princes vied with one another in helping the cause of public beneficence. Belonging to no existing school of politics, he shared in a considerable degree the esteem and confidence of all.

His influence with successive British statesmen was for a time suspected by those who knew him little. Yet in all his works, the one notable feature of his life was his complete self-effacement. He had no time to think of himself. He was all absorbed in the cause he undertook with such whole-hearted devotion. In his case, at any rate, it is in no apologetic mood that one speaks of the things that "might have been." Yet had he chosen to shine and sparkle he would have blazed in fame and made a mark like any burning star. Thrice he

refused the shrievalty of Bombay, he declined the Kaiser-i-Hind of Lord Curzon; he refused to be decorated with the insignia of a K.C.S.I. by Lord Minto. Oftentimes he had much difficulty in excusing himself from the obligation of accepting the Dewanship of many an Indian State. His heart was with the poor and like them he was content to be obscure if in love and service.

What a lesson is such a life! Born a Parsi, deriving his main inspiration from Christian life and Christian ideals and dedicating his services to Hindu and Moslem India! "Brother Dayaram" has given an excellent biographical sketch of the more eventful period of his life. Mr. Karkaria's invaluable monograph on "*India: Forty years of Progress and Reform*"—is a running commentary on the life and times of Malabari. His own autobiographical reminiscences scattered through the pages of the *Indian Spectator* and *East and West* throw a vivid glimpse on the career of a peculiarly fascinating personality. Malabari's own correspondence with many of the leading men of his time and the history of many a

charitable and beneficent institution abound with biographical materials of a rare kind. It is yet too early to measure the value of his services.

Of the men that India in the course of her new development has produced perhaps the most typical and illustrious is Behramji M. Malabari. He fully imbibed the spirit of the Occident and to a mind stored with the lore and philosophy of the great Zoroaster he added the critical and humane spirit of European culture and Christian charity and brought it to bear on the practical amelioration of his fellowmen without seeking seclusion to muse on the eternal inanities of things. Essentially an Oriental ascetic in life and temperament, he chose the nobler path of action and movement to quiet and rest. He moved with the spirit of the marching times. He saw the distressing society around and spared no pains to alleviate its lot. Though the harassing condition of his country moved him to pity and remorse he never scrupled to believe with Herbert Spencer on the efficacy of the line of least

resistance in social matters and carried the day by reason and persuasion rather than by blatant revolts and blustering anathemas. In later life he used his fame and influence in high quarters to bring about more cordial relations between the rulers and the ruled, to instil mutual sympathy and mutual understanding and acted as it were as an interpreter and link between the Occident and the Orient at a period when more than ever their interests and ideals were strikingly clashing. Gifted with a style at once facile and telling, moved with the noblest of emotions, Love, Faith and Charity—he was like Addison, the weekday preacher of his age with all the art and cunning of the essayist but with no little of the reformer's fervour. He was the inspirer of many a beneficent institution and was above all rich in

> "that best portion of a good man's life
> His little nameless, unremembered acts
> Of kindness and love."

Indeed the man was above all his works. It is the life rather than the works that prompted this sketch. One day he unexpectedly came to call upon the late Rev. Mr. E. S. Hume, and

said to him: "Will you please accept these two hundred rupees which have unexpectedly come to me, and with them found a scholarship in the name of George Bowen and award the annual income of this money to the boy in your Mission School who best does his duty?" On another occasion some unknown person printed in a Bombay paper a brief notice that Mr. E. S. Hume was struggling to continue to support a large number of famine boys who were in his charge. The next day Malabari called and handed Mr. Hume a small sum saying, "I was sorry to read that you were having some pecuniary embarrassment. Please accept this small sum; I only wish it were larger. Yet you can understand the spirit which led to its gift, when I say that my own children will have somewhat less to eat because of this gift." He had learned the luxury of doing good. With much of the milk of human kindness in him he was completely unworldly in his own affairs. "What are you going to do with your eldest boy?" asked a friend. "I have no idea and very little concern. He shall have a good

education and for the rest, if he fears God and be an honest man, I don't care what he does." The same unworldliness runs all through. His face in repose suggests gentleness, meditativeness and devotion—a sweet union of contemplation with benevolence. His luminous eyes glowed with a genial intelligence. A literally "glorious little man" there were yet lines on his forehead that betrayed the tenderness, the purity, the delicacy, the suprome sensitiveness of his soul. He was eminently prayerful. And his acts were in tune with his spirit.

TWO GREAT MEMORIALS

No account of Malabari's life could be complete without a reference to the two great memorials of his services to the Motherland, the last and possibly the most enduring of his labours in the cause of his countrymen, which the great philanthropist with such amazing capacity for loving self-sacrifice has bequeathed as legacies of immeasureable importance to Modern India. Malabari felt the sorrows of the suffering humanity with all the poignancy with which

they afflicted the pious souls of Ruskin and Tolstoy. The pangs of poverty, the agony of disease, the perils of ignorance, and the waste of life that follow in their train were more than he could bear and early in life he had made it a tenet of his creed to visit the fatherless and the widows in their affliction. Convinced that the hand that rocks the cradle is the power that moves the world, he had like Mill and Comte a reverent devotion to the cause of women. He championed the cause of Indian womanhood with the same fervour and chivalry with which the late Mr. W. T. Stead espoused the dignity of the daughters of Eve. His active philanthropy crystallised itself in the shape of the two beneficent institutions of which he was alike the father and the founder. Indeed, the Seva Sadan and the Sanatorium are at once a symbol and a monument—the symbol of a spirit troubled by pains not its own and monument of a life of unending charity.

The Seva Sadan which has for its chief object the uplift of India by Social, Educational and Medical service through Indian sisters both re-

gular and lay is almost the first and unique institution of its kind in India. To achieve its ideal of the Brotherhood of Man and the life of service, the society has been maintaining Homes for the Homeless, Industrial Homes, Shelter for the Distressed, Dispensaries for women and children, Ashrams for Hindu, Moslem and Parsi sisters, Free Educational Classes, Libraries and Reading rooms and Work classes and Home classes for helpless orphans and invalids. A perusal of the reports and leaflets published by the society from time to time would give a fair idea of this great philanthropic endeavour.

The Consumptives' Homes Society at Dharampur is another of his creation to which he dedicated all that was left of him. The Home was opened in 1909 and the establishment of the King Edward Sanatorium has been a blessing to hundreds of patients. The Maharajas of Patiala, Gwalior and Bikaner, the Tikka Sahib of Nabha and a brilliant array of donors amply supplied the funds. Expert physicians whose services are invaluable for the upkeep of such an institution volunteered

assistance and made the Sanatorium a marvel of success.

The two institutions are the fruits of his own genius and humanity. He laboured for their maintenance with the same faith and tenacity of purpose with which General Booth worked out the Salvation Army. What a magnificent ideal—the creation of a corps of Florence Nightingales in India with a net-work of organizations all about the country to alleviate the sufferings of humanity! He gave away his Life Policies as a modest contribution to what the late Lord Minto aptly characterised as a "National Movement." Year after year he might be seen amidst the pine forests of the Himalyas helping the invalids, consoling the distressed, and modelling the Homes. And now the inspiration of his life is still with us. There could be no more fitting memorial to his life of service than the efficient upkeep of the Society and the Homes. It is a curious coincidence that he should have breathed his last at the Homes and on the very day of the anniversary of the Society. If ever there was

a soldier in the Liberation War of Humanity, assuredly Malabari was one.

THE END

For, Malabari died at Simla on the morning of the 12th of July, 1912. His soul had need of rest and he passed silently and with no pain. The King and Queen sent a message of sympathy regretting the death of "our old friend." The magnates of Feadatory India, the ex-Viceroys, Lord and Lady Hardinge, the Provincial Governors and a hundred other men and women of mark in England and India sent in their wreaths to be placed at the foot of the departed worthy. Years ago while in England, he told his school brother Dr. Bhabba, to bury his body, in the event of death, in a poor man's grave in London, but to send his heart to India to be interred "at the foot of the Himalayas under the eternal snows." His wish was granted, his prayer was answered. And he sleeps at the foot of the Himalayas under the eternal snows.

SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI

STRANGE as it may seem, it is nevertheless true that during the middle of the nineteenth century, even after two centuries of British rule, India was steeped in ignorance and superstition. In a few nooks and corners, however, the lamp of knowledge could be seen irradiating the neighbourhood, thanks to the educational activities of the European missionaries and of the Native Education Society which had been established in Bombay in the second decade of the century, and thanks also to the traditional learning of the priestly classes of the population.

It was in the close vicinity of one of those illumined places—the residential quarters attached to the Jeejeebhai Dadabhai Parsi fire temple at Colaba—that Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi was born on 26th October 1854. Born in the midst of light, he was destined not merely to keep the sacred

fire glowing within the vaults of the temple as the successor of his father to the office of high priest of the temple, but also to feed the flame of knowledge that illumined his own soul and to shine as a luminary in the sphere of scholarship and spiritual learning a Shams-ul-Ulama in the literal sense of the term, shedding the light of truth along the path of his contemporaries throughout his long, eventful and honourable career.

In those days, the work of the Education Society was supplemented by numerous indigenous seminaries run by penurious Parsi priests and Hindu *Mehtajis*. One such school was maintained at Colaba, supported by and bearing the name of, the founder of the fire temple, Jeejeebhai Dadabhai. Young Jivanji commenced lisping the Vernacular alphabets in that school whence he was taken, when about nine years old, to the private school conducted by Rustomji Dadachanji at Gunbow Road, Fort.

The next step, one might suppose, was admission to a secondary school. Such a presumption, however, ignores the social

customs of the times when the portals of the matrimonial school had to be crossed before those of the secondary or even of the preparatory school! Jivanji was eleven and still unmarried! What a reflection on the boy and parents alike! Infant marriages were then as common among the Parsis as among their Hindu neighbours. So, in the year 1865, we find Jivanji married, rather late in life, to Aimai, daughter of Hormusji Nowroji Saklatwala—a union richly blest by Hymen who forged for it a link more enduring than that with which he unites many a couple in this age of love-marriages.

The same year witnessed Jivanji's initiation into the holy order of *navarhood*, the first degree of Parsi priesthood. Thereafter, his energies were bent on passing the Matriculation examination of the Bombay University, an achievement of no mean importance in those days. Five days before the examination, however, the family was drowned in sorrow. The angel of death knocked at Jamshedji's door and Jamshedji readily responded to the call, leaving behind him his only son Jivanji

to succeed him to the *panthak*. Though installed as head priest, Jivanji was still engrossed in his studies. His cousin, Khurshedji Bomanji Modi therefore looked after the affairs of the fire temple.

Jivanji passed the Matriculation examination in November 1871 and joined the Elphinstone College. During his college days, he passed through *maratabhood*, the second and final degree of Parsi priesthood, and took his B.A., degree in 1877.

Many graduates in this country read law as Hobson's choice. But Jivanji had already secured his *panthak*. There was no reason why he should drift from the arts college to the law classes. Yet he did deliberately commence reading law and passed the examination in Roman Jurisprudence. Perhaps, in those early days, the attractions of a legal career were greater than those of sacerdotal service. But the forces of destiny were silently exerting their influence in the right direction, so as to equip young Jivanji with the training necessary for a discerning divine. In studying the elementary

principles of law, Jivanji like the great American evangelist, Charles Finney, must have found the old authors frequently quoting the scriptures and referring especially to the Mosaic Institutes as authority for many a fundamental principle of common law. It is remarkable that the first Bible, Finney ever owned or read, was purchased by him only after his curiosity for scriptural studies had been aroused by the study of law. Conversion soon followed and after he had received baptisms of the spirit he was unwilling to do anything else except preaching the gospel. His whole mind was taken up with Jesus and the salvation of his soul. A similar transformation took place in the career of Jivanji, whose life-history, like that of K. R. Cama, the late "lay-Dastur" of the Parsi community, is in a great measure a story of the growth of religious and social reform among the Parsis. With the study of law was stimulated the desire for Avestaic and Pahlavi studies. He joined the Mulla Feroze and Sir Jamshedji Madressas, won several prizes, and was appointed Lady Jamsetji Fellow at the latter

Madressa. Among the lectures delivered by him in that capacity, were a series on the Immortality of the Soul.

Jivanji took to lecturing as a duck to water. Even before his appointment as a Fellow at the Madressa, he delivered several lectures on subjects of natural science and religion. For a deeper insight into the faiths of men he commenced the study of French and German languages and by the year 1889 we find him appearing as a polished speaker on the platform of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society with a paper on the River Karun of Persia which had just then been opened to traffic by the Persian Government. Since then, he has read nearly 50 papers before that Society alone. These interesting papers on divers subjects have been published in three volumes under the title "Asiatic Papers", and the sheets of the fourth volume are now passing through the press.

About this time the Parsi Community was rent in two sections by the controversies raging round the question of religious reforms on the one hand, the members of the

Rahnumae Mazdayasni Sabha were bent upon uprooting the alien and primitive beliefs and customs that had crept into and corrupted the Zoroastrian creed; on the other hand were arrayed the forces of fanaticism determined to repel the inroads of the young reformers whom they branded as heretics. Jivanji took his stand on truth and truth alone and, without embroiling himself in the clash of arms between the two hostile parties, went on quietly expounding the true tenets of the ancient faith. Happily for him, the questioning instinct of a philosopher which detects differences was less developed in him than the poetic instinct which sees resemblances. In the formulas of the Zoroastrian faith, therefore and even in some of the alien customs, reasonably interpreted, he found a close adherence to the original gospel as preached by Zoroaster.

The activities of so ardent a soul endowed with extraordinary energy and appetite for work and imbued with a restless spirit of service could not remain confined to the sphere of religion only. They were gradually

extended to several spheres of public usefulness. In 1887, Jivanji was nominated a Fellow of the University of Bombay and in March 1889, he was elected by that enlightened constituency to be a member of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay. In July of the same year he went to Europe to attend the 8th Congress of Oriental Scholars which met in Sweden at Stockholm in September. Travelling through the Continent, he visited historical places and, while gathering new knowledge and experience, himself imparted fresh knowledge on Oriental subjects to the continental people and created impressions highly favourable to his country and community and creditable to himself. The King of Sweden awarded him the diploma of *Letteris et Artibus* with a gold medal as its insignia, and Jiwanji returned to his country enriched both in knowledge and fame. He delivered two lectures in French before the *Cercle Letteraire* in Bombay on impressions of his visit to Paris and Constantinople. The European tour in fact afforded him many themes for subsequent

lectures in Gujarati, the most notable being those connected with his visits to Vesuvius, Marathon, Suez Canal and the Pyramids. Such scholarly activities were fittingly recognised by Government who conferred on him in the year 1893 the title of *Shams-ul-Ulama,* a distinction which then commanded a much greater status than it does now. His civic activities also met with recognition in his elevation in the year 1890 as a Justice of the Peace, another distinction which was then not so cheap as it is now.

In the year 1893, Jivanji's career took an unexpected turn. He applied for and obtained the post of Secretary to the Parsi Panchayet. "What a fall!" one might be moved to exclaim. It, however, turned out to be not a declension but a lift, keeping him above want and allowing him, in spite of the daily duties of his office, sufficient time and facilities for working on the higher plane of scholarly pursuits. It is the hardest worked man who often finds time for fresh activities. The reason is not far to seek. Besides the zeal for work,

there is the method; he knows how to make use of every minute at his disposal. In Jivanji's case, official duties seemed not to interfere at all with his studies and lectures. He was thereafter engaged equally in the work of spiritual as well as material salvation of his co-religionists and was as much before the public as a lecturer and an author as ever before. At the venerable age of 73 he still holds that office and it would be premature to pass a verdict on the extent and worth of his work. For our present purpose, it would suffice to refer to a few salient features of his Secretaryship and to note that during the period of thirty-four years that he has been at the helm of affairs of the Panchayet Funds, his services have been repeatedly recognised not only by the Board of Trustees but also by the public and the press, and that a movement has only recently been set on foot to give tangible expression to the general feeling of appreciation of his many-sided activities including his office work and its gratitude to him for all that he has done for the enlightenment and uplift of the community.

In the year 1896 a violent catastrophe overtook Bombay. The Bubonic plague sent a thrill of horror from end to end of the island. The Municipal authorities had to resort to abnormal measures to cope with that abnormal evil. These measures caused great consternation and provoked loud and angry denunciations from a public ignorant of the nature of the terrific disease and the necessity for desperate remedies. Thousands left the city, business was paralysed, shops were closed, and busy thoroughfares, once teeming with life, were completely deserted. In such circumstances Government appealed to the leading citizens of Bombay to enlist themselves as volunteers for visiting the panic-stricken people in their houses with a view to allaying their fears and securing their co-operation in the efforts of the authorities to combat the disease. Jivanji forthwith came forward to work as a "plague volunteer". What an infelicitous designation! Many a morning and evening did he spend, accompanied by his life-long colleague in the sphere of divinity as well as civics,



SIR JIVANJI J. MODI

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K. R. Cama, in visiting numerous segregation-camps and in preaching to the people the gospel of sanitation and instilling in their minds the duties of citizenship. But that was not all. As Secretary to the Parsi Panchayet Funds, Jivanji had to work day and night to help the poor Parsis in a variety of ways during the first few years of that dire visitation, and the Trustees were so well impressed by his self-sacrificing work in that direction that they presented to him in the year 1900 a silver vase in recognition of his services.

In this sketch, however, we are concerned more with his work as a scholar and a preacher and an author than as an officer. The most notable among his contributions to Oriental scholarship are the papers he read on divers subjects before several literary societies of the world. Of these no less than 127 papers were read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Anthropological Society of Bombay and the rest were either read or sent to be read before organisations such as the *Societe Asiatique*,

Academie des Inscription et Belle Letters, the Royal Asiatic Society, the Bengal Asiatic Society, the Dante Society, the Academy of Hungary, the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, the Oriental Congress at Hanoi, the Anthropological Institute and Folklore Society of London, and Oriental Conferences held at Poona, Calcutta, Madras and Allahabad and the Bombay Natural History Society.

A further proof of his voracious appetite for knowledge and versatility is afforded by the number and variety of the subjects of the public lectures that he delivered in English, French, Persian and Gujarati under the auspices of the various institutions such as the *Dnyan Prasarak Mandli* (Society for the diffusion of knowledge). Most of the lectures numbering no less than 52 delivered before that Society are published in four volumes entitled *Dnyan Prasarak Vishayo* (Knowledge-diffusing Essays). Similarly, the discourses given before various societies for the promotion of religious studies numbering over 130 are published under the titles of *Iranian Essays* in three parts and "Lectures and

Sermons on Zoroastrian Subjects " in six parts and readings from the Persian Shah-nameh which drew large audiences on Parsi holidays have been published in book form in two volumes under the title of *Episodes from the Shah-nameh.*

Impossible as it is to give a complete list of all his lectures in this sketch, it is also out of the question to name all the publications of so voluminous an author. Only the principal works are mentioned below :

IN ENGLISH

Aiyadgar-i-zariran, Shtroiha-i-Airan va Afdiya va Sahigiya-i-Seistan (Transliteration and Translation with Notes from Pahlavi).

Jamaspi (Text, transliteration, and translation with notes from Pahlavi).

The Dictionary of the Avestaic Proper Names.

Asiatic Papers (in 4 volumes, the fourth in the press.)

Anthropological Papers (in 4 volumes, the fourth in the press).

Dante Papers.

Memorial Papers (containing papers on Oriental subjects contributed to volumes in honour of Oriental scholars).

Masonic Papers.

The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana.

Anquotil du Perron and Darab.

A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees.

Education among the ancient Iranians.

Moral Extracts from Zoroastrian Books.

IN GUJARATI

Meteorology.
Iranian Essays in three volumes.
Iranian Lectures in three volumes.
Future Life.
Bundehesh (Translation with notes from Pahlavi).
The Shah-nameh upto the reign of Minocher (Translation from Firdausi).
The Dnyan Prasarak Essays (in 4 volumes).
The Shah-nameh and Firdausi.
Sermons and Lectures on Zoroastrian subjects (in six volumes).
The Ancient Iranians according to Herodotus and Strabo.
Episodes from the Shah-nameh (2 volumes).
The Peshdadian dynasty of Persia.
The Kayanian dynasty of Persia.

To this list may be added the following volumes edited by Jivanji:

The K. R. Cama Memorial Volume.
The K. R. Cama Masonic Jubilee Volume.
The Pahlavi Madigan-i-Hazar Dadistan.
The Spiegal Memorial Volume.
The Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy Zarthoshti Madressa Jubilee Volume.

It is pleasing to record that Jivanji's labour in the field of learning has been crowned with glory during his own life time. The stream of honours that have come to him from all quarters of the globe has like the stream of his scholarly activities never ceased to flow. In the year 1893 he was appointed Vice-President of the Anthropological Society of Bombay and in the year 1901 its Honorary Secretary.

Since that time he has been the mainstay of that Society. No wonder he was appointed twice to be the President of that Society. He is also a Fellow and Vice-President of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. In the year 1898 he obtained the distinction of "Officier d'Academie" of France and in 1902 he received the honour of "Officier de l Instruction Publique" from the Government of France. Another remarkable distinction came from Germany in 1912; the famous University of Hiedelberg conferred on Jivanji the honour of its Doctorate, Ph. D.

In the year 1914 Jivanji was appointed Honorary Correspondent of the Archæological Department of the Government of India and a member of the Moral Education Committee. Thereafter in 1917 Government bestowed on him the title of Commander of the Indian Empire, a very graceful act on the part of a Government that seldom exercises such discrimination in the selection of citizens for its honours. In the next year Jivanji was the recipient of the Sir James Campbell Medal from the B.B.R.A. Society and in the following

year the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute elected him to be President of the Institute. Two years later, he relinquished the Presidentship out of considerations that reveal the noble spirit in which he has devoted his time and leisure to further the objects of literary institutions. The writer then resigned the Honorary Secretaryship of the Society owing to other pressing engagements and, as there was no one in sight who could or would come forward to take up the duties of an active Secretary, Jivanji volunteered to vacate the less exacting and more exalted office of President with a view to undertaking the Secretaryship. In the year 1922 he attended the Second Oriental Conference at Calcutta as the Delegate of the University of Bombay and several literary societies, and in the following year was elected President of the Anthropological section of the Science Congress at Lucknow.

An indefatigable traveller as he is, although Jivanji had visited Europe, America, Burma, and Strait Settlements, French China, China, the Great Wall of China and Japan, in the year

1925 he started on his second journey through Europe and visited Northern Africa, Spain, France, England, Scotland, North Sea, Switzerland, Hungary, Germany, Russia and Persia. This tour was remarkable, alike for the papers he read and the lectures he gave, as for the welcome he received and the distinctions that were bestowed on him wherever he went.

Few hard-worked travellers would have been at the pains of visiting out of the way places and remote nooks and corners as Jivanji did to gather together the scattered threads of history and to unravel the tangled skeins of literary controversies. Every minute which was not occupied with calls on distinguished scholars or the composition and delivery of speeches or the preparation of articles for the press was devoted to sight-seeing. Everything he saw gave him fresh food for reflection; every person he met, every place he visited he subjected to his scholarly scrutiny and in that way from day to day his knowledge grew from more to more. For him personally, it must have been a very pleasant experience for wherever he

went he looked not for something to attack but for something to admire, not for something to demolish but for something to build up. Such unwearying energy, such immersion in work even during holiday tours, such moral earnestness, and such extraordinary versatility of his scholarly tastes and output as was evident in his lectures and addresses filled his friends in Europe and other parts of the world with admiration. Particularly the Parsee Association of Europe was justly proud of the achievements of so distinguished a co-religionist. It organized a reception in his honour at the room of the Northbrook Society, Imperial Institute, London, and greeted him "as a venerable and erudite scholar, whose more-than-half-a century of research and learning in the fields of religious lore, antiquity, history and several other learned pursuits have proved of inestimable value to shed lustre on the Zoroastrian race". When he was in Paris, the French Government conferred on him the much-coveted honour of *Chevalier de Legion d'-Honneur* and in Budapest he received from

the Hungarian Government the honour of "Officier de Croix de Merit".

In June 1930, on the occasion of the King's Brithday, he received a Knighthood, a fitting, though a belated recognition of the great merits of this distinguished Parsi divine.

Such, in brief outline, is the story of Jivanji's remarkable career. In this sketch we have tried to indicate the extent of his activities in the spheres of learning and citizenship. But who can compute the worth of such exalted labour or estimate the influence of his wide learning and inspiring writings and discourses on the enlightenment and progress of his contemporaries generally and of his co-religionists in particular? That is a task which may well be left to scholars and divines capable of gauging the depth of his erudition and assessing the value of the gems of his literary labour.

The spirit in which Jivanji has approached all questions, whether theology, ethnology or meteorology, is that of a humble and ardent student. As a Zoroastrian priest he has stood before his community as a lover of his religion

and as a social and religious reformer imbued with the sole desire of spreading the light of that religion far and wide. A deep tone of piety and reverence marks all his thoughts and words and all his writings. Wherever he goes, whatever he says or does, he feels deeply that he is a humble disciple and servant of the great Prophet of Iran and all that he does bears the impress of his convictions on that point. How many souls must have felt refreshed and enlarged by his priestly ministrations and sermons! How many hearts aching with the consciousness of sin must have found solace and salvation in his words of wisdom and comfort! Whatever may be the verdict of posterity concerning Jivanji's place in the sphere of Oriental scholarship, there is no doubt that during the past fifty years he has occupied the foremost place as a learned divine and expositor of the Zoroastrian faith. Every lover of that religion owes him a deep debt of gratitude for the zeal and devotion with which he has carried out his noble and ennobling work.

SIR M. M. BHOWNAGGREE.

IF Dadabhai Naoroji was the first Indian Member of the British Parliament it was left to Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree another Parsee to follow his lead in the next General Elections to the House of Commons. Dadabhai was elected a Liberal Candidate for Central Finsbury in 1892. Bhownaggree represented Bethnal Green as a Conservative candidate for over a decade from 1895. Both have been public spirited Indians, who by their character and ability, were able to enlist the sympathies of English constituencies in the cause of India. Dadabhai held that British Liberalism would justify itself in its treatment of Indian demands; while Bhownaggree has refused to distinguish between the Parties in British politics and held that Conservatives in power should be made to realise their duties and responsibilities to their country no less than the Liberals. Dadabhai was not only a Parliamentarian in England but he continued

to be the guide and leader of the patriotic movement in India. Bhownaggree settled himself in England. After his retirement from Bhavanagar he hardly associated himself with the progressive movements of political reform in this country. It was this aloofness from the current of progressive thought in the country coupled with his somewhat reactionary political opinions that roused the ire of the Indian press and public during many years of Bhownaggree's Parliamentary life in England. And more than once his opinions and his actions evoked public protests and demonstrations. But Bhownaggree always held that he was doing his bit for India according to his own lights irrespective of the attitude of the Congress. But the Congress was a growing nation-wide movement and Bhownaggree could hardly trifle with its hostility as it was bound to tell on his popularity. And at one time it did tell.

Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree, K. C. I. E., is the son of Merwanjee Bhownaggree, a distinguished Parsee merchant of Bombay. Born

on the 15th August, 1851, he received his preliminary education at the Proprietary School, Bombay. He then joined the Elphinstone College, where he carried off a prize on the Constitution of the East India Company, which was subsequently enlarged and published in book form. While a student he showed considerable literaray ability, and was led to adopt the profession of journalism, for which he showed brilliant capacity, being appointed a sub-editor on the staff of the *The Bombay Statesman* newspaper, when only twenty years old, under the Editorship of the distinguished journalist, Robert Knight.

His professional association with the Press, however, was not destined to be a long one, for the death of his father in 1872 caused the Bombay State Agency of the important State of Bhavanagar to be committed to his care, and the duties of that position greatly reduced his opportunities to contribute to periodical literature. However, among the works which he contrived to find time to write was a Gujarati translation of Queen Victoria's "Leaves from the Journal of our Life in the

Highlands," which he issued in 1877, dedicated by special permission to the Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward VII. He was appointed a Fellow of the Bombay University in 1881.

He was at this time prominently identified with a number of public organisations. He was Secretary and a member of the governing body of various educational and other establishments, including the Bombay Branch of the East India Association of which he was joint Secretary with the late Mr. K. T. Telang, the Mechanics' and Gymnastic Institutes, and the first Girls' English Academy founded in Western India, of which he acted as Secretary for a period of more than seven years.

In 1881 he was appointed by the Bombay Government a Justice of the Peace, and in the following year he went to England and studied for the Law, being called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1885. Shortly afterwards he gave before the Society of Arts a report and criticism of Female Education in India, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Mathew Arnold and

his treatment of the subject was so appreciated that the Silver Medal of the Society was awarded to the writer. Since then he continued to be an active member of that Society, which led to his being elected a member of its Council in the year (1902) being the first and so far the only appointment to that position of an Indian. He was one of the Commissioners of the Indian and Colonial Exhibition held at South Kensington in 1886, at which time he was created a Companion of the Indian Empire.

A year later he undertook, at the request of the Maharaja of Bhavanagar, whose scheme had the sanction of the Bombay Government, to assist in an important and difficult work, the introduction of a constitutional administration in the State of Bhavanagar, and the complete re-arrangement of the Legal and Police Departments. This was so novel an innovation on the strictly autocratic form of rule which had prevailed from time immemorial in the India of the Princes that the task was fraught with considerable difficulty. With adequate support from the Maharaja, and willing co-operation

of his colleagues like Dewan Vittaldas and Dr. Barjorjee Byramjee, this was satisfactorily and safely accomplished. So successful was the experiment and so effectively founded was the new constitution in its judicial organisation that it was reproduced by other States. It struck a blow at the absolute exercise of individual authority, and put an end to the strife of rival factions which is so fruitful a source of mischief in the India of the Princes.

But, while the new system exerted a beneficial influence in terminating the strifes among rival factions in the State, it brought its own train of troubles, which required energetic action. The Maharaja and Mr. Bhownaggree, as well as the other Councillors of the State, were violently denounced by a powerful body of discontented and disappointed persons in leaflets and pamphlets widely circulated throughout the whole country, with the object of resuscitating the old autocratic system under which the Chiefs and States are exposed to the machinations of ambitious rivals for power.



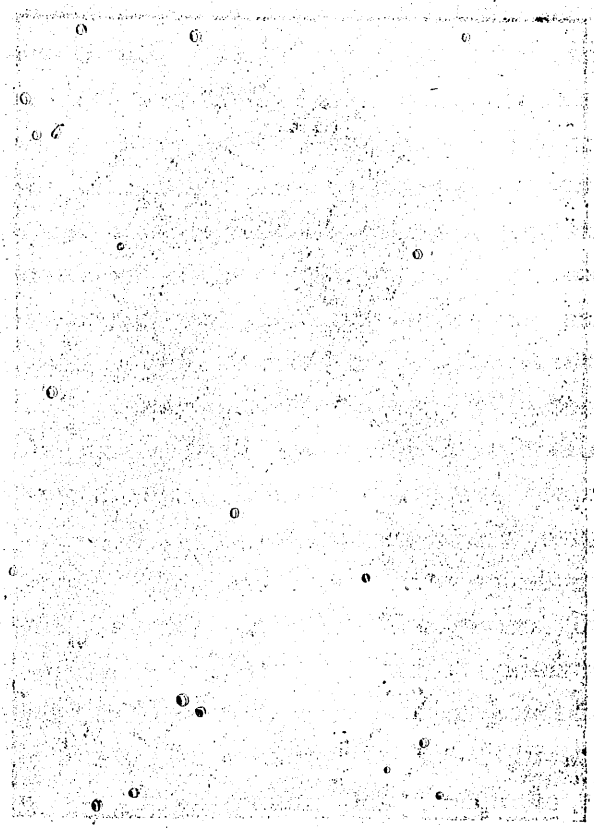
SIR M. BHOWNAGGREE

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SIR M. BHOWNAGGREE



The principal participants in this dangerous criminal crusade were convicted and sentenced as the result of the celebrated "Bhavanagar Defamation Cases" in 1890, their trial, of which Mr. Bhownaggree subsequently wrote a very comprehensive review, exposing the deleterious influences which affect the administration of Justice in the Courts of the Native States, and laying bare to light the secret blackmailing tactics pursued by certain classes connected with the indigenous Press.

Although his work as a Judicial Councillor occupied much of his attention, Mr. Bhownaggree was generally prominent in movements designed to bring about social, educational and other ameliorative reforms. The co-operation of the Government, of such popular and statesman-like Governors as Lord Reay and Lord Harris, in furthering the objects of some of these public undertakings, was at this period of his career most valuable. He succeeded in placing the Bombay Gymnastic Institute originally founded by his father on a flourishing and permanent basis, being assisted in this by both those administrators. He

was the Secretary and principal organiser of the Rukmabai Defence Committee, which, with the powerful aid of Lady Reay, sought to protect the Hindu women from the evil consequences of infant marriages. He rendered valuable service by the propagation of his views on the more extensive employment of the natives in the administration of the affairs of their country, a subject on which he gave important evidence before the Public Services Commission.

Desiring to establish a memorial to his sister Ave, whose death occurred in 1888, and whose loss he felt severely, his philanthropic spirit dictated a form of commemoration which constitutes a public benefit, and he founded, associating it with her name, the Nurses' Home at Bombay, an institution of great utility and benevolence. With the same object he erected the East Corridor of the Imperial Institute at Kensington, and founded some prizes to stimulate female education.

In 1891 he returned to England, and actively associated himself at once with the work of various public bodies. His services in

connection with these led to the invitation to enter the British Parliament, where it was thought that his energy, his ability, and his public spirit, coupled with his knowledge of India would render him a specially useful representative, not only from the British point of view, but also from the Imperial standpoint.

Having decided to offer himself as a candidate for Parliament, Mr. Bhownaggree, who stood as a Conservative showed both spirit and courage, undertaking to contest the representation of North-East Bethnal Green, a constituency which had ever since it obtained the franchise continuously elected a Radical member by large majorities, and which had repelled candidate after candidate put forward by the Conservative and Unionist party. Thus his task was particularly difficult. But after a plucky fight Mr. Bhownaggree was elected on the 16th July 1895.

To those acquainted with his views and early career, it must have seemed strange that Mr. Bhownaggree chose to fight under the Conservative banner for his entry into

St. Stephens. But it seems his residence in England had taught him that as far as India was concerned, her people had to appeal to both the great parties when in power, and that instead of relying upon the Radical party alone, as was the fashion at the time, it was equally to the interest of his country to remind the Conservatives of their duty and responsibility towards her.

The contest, which ensued in 1895, was characterised by the most strenuous exertions by the rival parties, and watched with much interest by the nation, and resulted in a triumph for Mr. Bhownaggree, who wrested the seat from so powerful and respected a member as Mr. George Howell. The victory evoked an autograph letter, couched in the most complimentary terms by the then Premier, Lord Salisbury. Since his election, he proved himself a capable and useful Member, and enjoying great personal popularity and a corresponding degree of influence, and was regarded as a valuable acquisition to the House of Commons. While he was thus lionised by the British public and the British press it must be owned that

he failed to enlist the sympathy and appreciation of his own countrymen in his doings in England. It was unfortunate that the only Indian member of the House of Commons should have stood aloof from the patriotic movements in this country and found himself in opposition to such stalwarts as Dadabhai and Mehta. Bhownaggree was then hob-nobbing with Anglo-Indian reactionaries and was wont to speak of the Nationalist aspirations in India, in a strain which was resented by the leaders of progressive thought in this country. And when towards the end of 1896 he came on a visit to this country he found himself in a rather unenviable position. For not all the enthusiasm of his friends and admirers could assuage the growing antipathy of the Indian public to what was considered his reactionary pronouncements and policy.

But his position in his own constituency in England became more and more secure as he rose in public estimation by his vigilant espousal of the interests of Bethnal Green. Bhownaggree proved himself a talented Mem-

ber of Parliament and was thoroughly popular in his constituency.

Under these circumstances he naturally continued to represent the same constituency for the second time when he was re-elected in 1900 by a largely-increased majority. In 1897, on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, he received the honour of Knighthood of the Order of the Indian Empire.

Sir Mancherjee was the recipient of a signal compliment and distinction when in July, 1901, about three hundred ladies and gentlemen, including Lord George Hamilton, the Secretary of State for India, numerous Members of Parliament of both sides and prominent Anglo-Indian officials, together with the leading members of the Parsee community and representative Hindus and Mahomedans resident in England assembled in his honour at the Hotel Cecil to commemorate his second victory at the polls, against so powerful an opponent as Harry Lawson, the present Viscount Burnham.

Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree, as may be inferred, is a strong supporter of British

Rule in India, to which he holds we are greatly indebted for that peace and security and intellectual guidance which are essential to our progress and well-being. In questions of domestic legislation Sir Mancherjee has been a progresssive Conservative, and a strong Imperialist as regards Britain's foreign policy and possessions. He insists upon India being regarded from an entirely non-political standpoint, and holds firmly to the belief that British rule has given her an unprecedented period of peace and of opportunities for material progress, on which he regards her future prosperity must mainly depend.

Sir Mancherjee is now in his eightieth year basking in the recollection of a well filled and active life. He has been in public life for well nigh half a century. Much of it has been spent in England. But the cause of his country has been dear to him and he has warmly espoused all movements social, industrial, and educational that tend to alleviate and advance the condition of his countrymen over here. Sir Mancherjee has particularly interest-

ed himself in the cause of Indians overseas and oftentimes his great influence in high quarters has been brought to bear upon the solution of knotty problems as they arose in the relations between the Indian people and the colonial governments. Indeed he was executive Chairman of the influential Committee of British Indian sympathisers which was formed in England to guard over Indian interests in the British Colonies; and was one of the Deputation, which, with Dadabhai, M. K. Gandhi and Amir Ali and others, was organised to wait on the Earl of Elgin, the Colonial Secretary in London in November 1906.

In recognition of his varied activities and services the Parsee association of Europe gave a Dinner at Cecil Hotel in September 1927. On behalf of the members Sir Dinshaw Petit who presided over the function presented to Sir Mancherji an address on vellum enclosed in a silver box, and his portrait in oil.

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